The Forum

JUNE, 1921

THE FLOOD AND THE POLLS

By MAURICE HEWLETT

THE most interesting spectacle in the world today is the insurgence of the vast forces of Labor into politics. It is impossible not to speculate upon what will emerge after the deluge under which thrones, princedoms, dominions, presidencies and powers of all sorts will disappear, engulfed for a space. Detached observer of my neighbors as I profess to be, I am so intimately concerned with leaving mankind a little happier, a little more disposed towards amiability *inter se* and a little more reasonable in dealing than I find it just now, that I readily excuse myself and deprecate my readers' judgment in advance for the misgivings and quodlibets which follow. One does not, I hope, study human nature for forty years without learning something; one is not a convinced idealist without some power of seeing things as they are; one is not free of every political party without being ready and willing to join any which promises fairly for the happiness of men. So far as these abilities may help one to a conclusion I am as well equipped, perhaps, as anybody else.

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I have watched the tide of this second deluge rising for more than thirty years, and remember addressing a huge meeting of operatives at Leicester in 1906, and telling them there that, if they only knew it, they could sweep the polls and see in this ancient kingdom what kind of governance they would. I told them, too, that it lay in their discretion, and so far as I could see in theirs only, to make an international war impossible by the direct and directed action of one week. It was true then, and it is still true, though since I spoke the most dreadful war known to history has passed over us and left us shaken to the spine; but I doubt whether, even now, Labor as a whole realizes either the power or the responsibility it has. The time cannot be much longer; it is not possible to misread the signs. The terrors of Mr. Lloyd George alone are signs enough. Trust a Celt as a political barometer.

If I am right, then every institution we have ever known will be swallowed up in the flood of waters, all landmarks obliterated for a time. Which of them will come up again —of King, Lords, Commons, Church and State, Land and Capital, Army, Navy, Leisured Class, and all the rest of them? The dead set for the moment is at Capital, and an offhand judgment might say that when that goes down, any institution which smacks of it, or in any way depends upon it, will go, too; but the more reflective will ask themselves how industry of any sort will survive the disappearance of capital, point to the example of Russia, and conclude that after the subsidence of the flood, the money-bags will be found purged but intact. I have no sentiment myself to waste on capital, neither having nor needing any. Let it sink or swim for me. If men can work and love and have children without capital behind them, to it in Heaven's name. If not, Patience, and shuffle the cards. All that is as it may be: a point of infinitely more moment to me is the result of the flood upon international politics. Shall we be any nearer a federation of the world? How will the Foreign Offices, Chancelleries, Embassies survive? What will be

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the fate of Diplomacy, that hoary monument of the eighteenth century? Who will have a word to say for Balance of Power, Most Favored Nation, and suchlike taboos? Above all, what will be the attitude of a triumphant proletariat towards War and the argument of armed force? Let us forget the Russian example for the moment—and the Irish, if we can. I should say myself that the destruction of every antique institution of Europe would be a small price to pay for the extinction with them of that prehistoric and shameful survival. All these speculations are too remote at present, seeing we cannot begin to solve them until we have solved Labor itself. The idealist who sees concepts as ponderable things must attempt first of all to see Labor one of such.

No man, whatever his intellectual habit, can blink at the position in Britain at this hour. The new party has organized itself, found its voice and its policy. Trade Unionism which, fifty years ago, was fighting for mere life, has not only won it, but is now threatening the lives of older institutions, and not far from questioning those of estates of the realm. There is a clear chance that at any future general election there may be a working Labor majority with which other parties and interests will have to deal in order, either to accommodate themselves to it, or to fight out the war of supremacy. Much as they dislike it, those others, much more as they *will* dislike it when the pinch comes, it is unsound to say that class-government is a new thing. It is indeed a very old thing. The history of England does not reveal a day when there was not class-government. Our political history, in fact, is a history of class-struggle, and of little else. The Norman kings were despots, the Angevins ruled through the Peers; the Peers destroyed each other, and let in the Tudors, new despots who governed by manipulating the House of Commons. Then that House—a dangerous tool—beat the kings, and it was the turn of the County Families. Those distinguished persons had themselves by degrees made Peers, so that George III found the House

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of Lords once more his proper instrument. The Reform Act stopped all that—in favor of the Capitalists. It was then the day of Manchester. Every class in Britain has had its turn except Labor, and it is no use to cry out upon the whirligig of time.

Labor will win its way to Downing Street; but what it will do when it is there is quite another thing; or rather, it is several other things, all of them dark and doubtful, except one. Of that one there can be no doubt: for good or ill, government by Labor in the beginning will be government by the Trade Unions. There at least is a new thing in our long history; for there we shall have government less by a class than by a section of a class—a narrow oligarchy. Mr. Sidney Webb, the ablest head in the Labor movement, sees that, and doesn't like it at all. But it is a question of money. No political machine can be run without funds. The Trade Unions have money, unorganized Labor has none. Every Labor member returned to Parliament, with trifling exceptions, will be a Trade Union delegate.

Now, whoever may reconcile himself to such a government, it is certain that non-union workmen, who are as numerous as the unionists, will not. They kept out of unionism for reasons good to themselves, and the result, to them, has been obvious enough. If Trade Unionism is not despotic it is not for want of effort. It has had to fight for its hand: non-unionists who stood in the way have had to be put out. Nobody can have expected anything else. Materially, it has justified itself to its members; and so long as the Trade Unions remained strictly what they were designed to be, there is nothing to be said against their methods, however ruthless, which cannot be met with cogent arguments. *A la guerre comme a la guerre:* there can be no quarter in a trade war. The moment they become a Labor Party, however, with a majority in the House of Commons, they are confronted with a serious difficulty which I don't think has ever been faced. A majority at Westminster is in a sense like a king at St. James'. It can do no wrong, because it

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must not. It must represent the country as a political entity abroad and at home; it must frame its legislation on some theory of politics which, whatever else it may aim at, must be designed to keep the pot boiling. "The King's government must be carried on." That was the Duke of Wellington's sound excuse for turning his coat on one occasion. He did it like a statesman, and a man of common sense. It is not clear to me that a Labor Government could make so free, which was in effect a Trade Union Government, sent to Westminster and maintained there by the contributions of Trade Unionists. I don't see how you can make free, unless you *are* free. You may have incompatibles to reconcile if one of them is a standing dish. Suppose, for instance, a great strike by some organized industry; suppose direct action taken in some crisis or other, started and maintained by some affiliated union of which the Government is in a very real sense the paid delegate. How will you deal with that ? It will be said that class-government in the past has often come into conflict with the class which it represented. That is true. Lord Grey's government did, when it carried the Reform Bill. The Duke's did; Sir Robert Peel's did. But none of those governments were subsidized. They wielded the party funds and turned them to the uses which seemed to them good. They might lose command of them at an ensuing election, and saw fit to risk the loss. They possessed the theory as well as the power of disinterested action. Their leaders really led. No Trade Union government—whose funds were not party funds, but remained Union funds—could hope to do that, so long as its ministers were actually Trade Union officials.

The consideration of this problem leads directly to the fact that with the coming of a Labor Administration a page will be turned in British history, and blankness be disclosed. Hitherto it has been possible to look back; precedent has been the guide, and has always pointed to the loyalty of a party to its leaders, and of leaders to principles. No government yet has ever admitted that it was an *ad hoc* govern-

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ment; in other words, a government of delegates. But loyalty to leaders is unknown to Trade Unionism; and principles are things which, *ex necessitate,* the leaders themselves have seldom dared to avow. By principles I mean here actions corresponsive to personal convictions. The only man so far who has shown himself capable of such is Mr. Clynes. I doubt if he has made himself acceptable by them, and it remains to be seen how long he will be suffered to continue. At the moment he is chairman of his party—a sessional appointment. The Labor Party has never had a leader in the old sense of the word. It is still a question whether a party without one will not stray rather than march, or drift from expedient to expedient in the feckless, helpless and shameless manner of Mr. Lloyd George, who is himself, poor gentleman, a party without a leader.

When this *cul-de-sac,* which looks to me a fatal weakness in the Labor Party, has been explored it may be profitable to discuss policy. That, so far as a policy can be discerned, adheres as loosely to any economic principle as the party itself. It oscillates between communism and socialism according as it looks at means and sources of production. Having, as a fixed point, an unalterable enmity to capitalism, it aims at nationalizing everything, coalmines and collieries, too, farming and land as well. The idealist cannot agree that the exchange of many corporations for one vast corporation is likely to increase production on the one hand or humanize the workers on the other. To him it seems that in its detestation of wealth, or rather of money, the Labor community has overlooked the root purpose of all domestic policy, which he takes to be the rendering of people both good and happy. A policy based upon warfare can hardly do the first and is very unlikely to do the second—but at present it is hardly worth discussion in detail, as it is bound to be drastically modified before it faces the electorate. It is well to point out, all the same, that while Trade Unionism is in the mass socialist or communist, as may be, the workman himself is almost

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invariably individualist to the marrow. So much is that the case that the almost certain immediate effect of nationalizing the land would be to turn every small-holder with a tenant right into a reactionary of a type unknown here since the Napoleonic wars—high tory, protectionist, reactionary, and so on. A little more, and they might make a churchman of him. I don't myself mind what they make of him so long as they make him happy without tempting him to be less the honest, patient, industrious man he has been hitherto. The peasant has a great tradition behind him, which has thriven through all his misfortunes. How it will survive prosperity remains to be seen. Give him his share in the land, in God's name—but I cannot for the life of me see how any such a policy as that is to fit in with Mr. Webb's avowed intention of nationalizing farming.

Nothing has been said here of what may in the long run turn out to be the solution of the whole problem: I mean the women's vote. Nothing whatever is known of that, except perhaps that if a woman be a candidate they will vote for her. But it is to be remembered that industrial women are mainly non-unionist, and (I should say) strongly anti-socialist. I think private property will be safe with them, provided they see their way to their share of it. Once secured in that, let them alone to vote straight! I think that they may yet turn out to be our salvation.

There, at any rate, is the prospect before us here in Great Britain as it seems to a detached observer of his neighbors. The tide is rising fast. It will be such a flood as we have never heard tell of. Who or what will come out, there's no saying. But we shall be changed.

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UNIVERSITY FELLOWSHIPS IN CREATIVE ART

By PERCY MACKAYE

"DEMOCRACY must show its capacity for producing not a higher average man, but the highest possible types of manhood in all its manifold varieties, or it is a failure. No matter what it does for the body, if it do not in some sort satisfy that inextinguishable passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure. Unless it know how to make itself gracious and winning, it is a failure. Has it done this? Is it doing this? Or trying to do it?"

"These words of James Russell Lowell suggest the reasons why democracies must have universities," writes President Emeritus Charles W. Eliot in his Lowell centenary address upon that poet's career as a Harvard professor. And in the same address President Eliot says: "Lowell wrote to a friend: 'I hate lecturing. While my lectures are on my mind I am not myself, and I seem to see all the poetry drying out of me.' This service (his teaching) must have been to him a real affliction and a serious interruption to his own active work."

The above quotations of Lowell and Eliot attest the recognition of a vital function of true democracy as related to the right functioning of a great university.

Unless democracy "lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar, it is a failure." So thought Lowell, the poet, who was also the representative of our American democracy as ambassador to Great Britain. Yet the same poet, when representing American democracy as a function-

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aire of our foremost university, stated very emphatically (with the after-endorsement of his own Harvard president) that his function there as teacher was anathema to his function as poet, i. e., as creative artist.

Here, then, is a text for educators and statesmen, set forth as a challenge by two eminent Americans, yet almost universally ignored by statesmen and educators, by men of great wealth who endow our American universities, and by the many thousands of citizens who support them through state finances and through the armies of youth confided to their care and leadership.

This text, for our own country, may be stated tersely in these words: *Is creative art vital to democracy in America?*

If so, and if our universities are institutions vital to American democracy, then it is surely their function to foster creative art, and of course to do so effectually. Remembering Lowell's words, we may fittingly inquire concerning the universities: "Have *they* done this? Are they doing this? Or trying to do it? And are they recognizing and using the *effectual* means to do it?"

To these questions—after a lapse of two generations since Lowell spoke so emphatically—it can be answered that some very encouraging symptoms of interest have recently been shown, and at least one thorough-going experiment has been initiated.

The initiator is President R. M. Hughes of Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. In his recent address before the National Association of State Universities, in Washington, D. C., President Hughes said: "I wish to suggest the advisability of the universities establishing fellowships in art —poetry, painting, sculpture, drama, music—open to creative artists of established reputation. History shows, I believe, that the greatest artists have been under the patronage of the nobility, or of the rich, or occasionally of the state. It is certainly repugnant to the American spirit, either of the people or of the artist, to be under the patronage of individuals. It would seem to me, as our country is

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constituted, there is no institution more eminently fitted to be the patron of art than the universities and colleges. On the other hand, I believe nothing would do more today to leaven the increasing materialism of the American university than to have a great creative artist working on the campus. The peculiar nature of this enterprise makes it relatively easy to secure its support.

"I believe there are between fifty and a hundred colleges and universities in the country which could finance a fellowship of from two thousand, five hundred dollars to ten thousand dollars out of their own budgets for a year or two, and I am convinced that such a fellowship, fortunately started, could be supported from private resources."

But President Hughes has done more than state a conviction; he has himself taken definite action. He has established such a fellowship at his own university, and he has done so with rare recognition of the peculiar means which alone can make it effectual. This means—which is very pregnant of Lowell's problem as an artist, referred to above—President Hughes makes clear in his address:

"Such fellowships as are here contemplated," he says, "should be free from all academic duties; should be a frank recognition of an eminent artist as a creator without any obligation of return other than work in his chosen field. I believe that the establishment of a professorship would very largely defeat the purpose to which I am directing your attention, the development of American art. It is only as this could be developed freely without restriction as to hours or time that the greatest results could be gained."

As the incumbent of the first fellowship in creative art established for a man of letters in America, initiated by President Hughes at Miami University, it is my object in this article to state, as best I can in brief space, the nature of the incumbency with some comments of public opinion upon it thus far, and to suggest some of the interesting possibilities latent in its idea, as related to the functions of creative artists and of universities.

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This article itself is written in a little studio, built for me on the lower campus at Miami, within a few minutes' walk from the studio of Edgar Stillman Kelley, the eminent American composer, whose successful functioning in a composer's fellowship at Western College, Oxford, suggested to President Hughes the idea which he has developed at Miami; for here, in the same town of Oxford, Mr. Kelley has composed, untrammeled by academic duties, some of his best known work; his New England Symphony, his Oratorio "Pilgrim's Progress," his choral music for the tercentenary celebration at Plymouth, Mass.

Secluded in the quiet of a great grove, my studio is an admirable place of work, and has already afforded opportunity, during some months, for a kind of uninterrupted thought and creative experiment which the overcrowded hours of many former winters have precluded. But it has also provided occasion for a kind of informal interchange of ideas and friendship with both faculty and students, very stimulating and delightful in itself and conducive toward enlarged horizons for the social as well as the art meanings of my "fellowship" privileges. For to be an unclassified person, exempt from the system of either taking or setting "exams," conduces to a fraternity of intercourse with the human natures of both examiners and examined. Exclusion from routine secures inclusion in a widened circle of enfranchisement created by all concerned. And this reacts very favorably upon the long hours of concentrated work which the worker in art—especially in poetry and the drama—necessarily devotes to solitary research: and by this I mean not research in books (except incidentally), but research in the remembered problems of experience and the imagined forecasts of future experiment.

This the nature of an artist's work is so little realized by society and its institutions that the enlightened recognition of it in this case leads me hopefully to anticipate, and to urge, its further recognition for the benefit of many others than myself, whose accessions to the creative labora-

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tory of art in America might informally league their imaginative powers—throughout various universities—into such a combined influence upon public opinion and education as the focussed minds of pure scientists exert upon the domains of chemistry, medicine, engineering and the other sciences, clarifying and upholding their standards for the leadership of our evolving democracy.

For the quiet, intensive researches of art, combined with interchanges of the knowledge born of experiment, are as needful to the growth and social use of art as are those of science to its growth and usefulness. Yet the universities, often quick to recognize this truth for science, and to establish for science its experimental laboratories, still concern themselves almost wholly with the exposition or historical criticism of literature, poety, drama, painting, sculpture, founding chairs (useful and important for their special purposes) to lecture upon art works, most of which came first into being through the imaginations of struggling artists, ignored and unrecognized by the very kind of institutions which blazon those works as shining magnets of their curricula.

Even when they justly pride themselves upon modernity in not ignoring the significance of contemporary art, most universities still hold toward modernity strictly their critical-historical methods, or if they resort to laboratories (as in some classes in writing poetry and plays) their teachers of art have necessarily had no such opportunity for fundamental creative research and experiment as their teachers of science have had.

The basic idea, as it touches the function of fellowships for artists today, is suggested by a little incident of my own experience. At a certain university I happened to be giving an author's reading. After the reading, I was surprised at being asked, by several students in succession, a volley of questions about a play of mine, "The Scarecrow"—questions which I was somewhat nonplussed to answer satisfactorily. "But why," I inquired, "are you interested to ask me these

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questions?" "Oh," said one of the students, "we have an exam on that play tomorrow, and we thought you could give us some pointers." Of course, I felt honored personally by this interest shown; but I mention the incident to state an impersonal query: If it be worth while for a university to provide opportunity to study a living author's work, may it not be equally worth while to provide opportunity for the author to create it?

In my case this query has been answered indirectly by President Hughes; but it is encouraging to note that the significance of the idea for others has recently been very favorably stressed by leaders of various kinds of public opinion, whom I shall quote here, because such reception of the idea is very important to its wider understanding and growth in America.

"The fundamental idea of the fellowship," says an editorial in *The Congregationalist,* "is the desire of the university to be instrumental in creating art and literature, not simply in teaching them. Harvard, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Bowdoin, and other institutions have their art galleries and their professors of art, or call in art lecturers from outside. But the action of President Hughes marks a further step, which will be suggestive to college managers and be watched with much interest elsewhere." And a leading editorial of the *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* says: "This is obviously one of the promising projects to which the pragmatic test should be applied. If it works, it will free a democratic country from one of the worst charges that can be brought against it—that its artists are doomed. If it fails, it will at least have shown that democracies breed institutions in which the value of the creative artist is recognized. But the experiment should not be confined to the newer seats of learning. Where the traditions of spiritual life are strongest and oldest, the results ought to be of the best. The courage of youth may be needed to institute such a plan. But the older colleges should have a watchful eye upon the enterprise, and, beyond wishing it well, keep them-

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selves flexible enough to ally themselves, as opportunity may permit, with a really effective fostering of the creative arts."

These are enlightened words from our oldest university concerning this project which Walter Lippmann calls "a most enlightened business," and the project is as warmly supported by an editorial in *School and Society*. "Many artists," it says, "will find a university atmosphere congenial and stimulating. But what primarily concerns the colleges is the effect on them. It is good that those watchtowers of humanity should extend their horizons. The works of the past are studied there because they always have been, as a canonized tradition, a series of half-arbitrary selections, emptied of complete significance and almost of humanity. But daily seeing, hearing and association with a magnetic personality, who may be giving expression in the forms of the past to what people today are thinking and feeling, can hardly fail to make the literature of the past seem more significant and vital. Even the roughneck Pharisee who passes by on the other side of the hall may admit that reputation and influence without wealth mean success."

And the *Chicago Evening Post,* after commenting favorably on my incumbency at Miami, writes in an editorial: "Such men also as Robert Frost and Edwin Arlington Robinson, to say nothing of many of our composers and painters, might well be given such fellowships. They would certainly honor the colleges, and American art and letters would be the richer for it. And even if a few weaker men were given what a commercial world would contemptuously call 'soft snaps,' the principle would not be invalidated."

Apropos of this comment, the opinion of one of the American poets cited is pertinent: "The arts," writes Robert Frost in a letter to me, "seem to have to depend on favor more or less. In the old days it was on the favor of kings and courts. In our day far better your solution, that it should be on the colleges, if the colleges could be brought to see their responsibility in the matter. We are sure to be great in the world for power and wealth. Our government

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will see to that with appropriations and tariffs. But someone who has time will have to take thought that we shall be remembered five thousand years from now for more than success in war and trade. Someone will have to feel that it would be the ultimate shame if we were to pass like Carthage (great in war and trade) and leave no trace in the spirit."

The "someone," whom Mr. Frost mentions, President Hughes believes to be the university. "The struggle between those who cling to the old ideal," writes the Boston *Monitor,* "and those who radically insist that a university is not an end, but a means to a universal good, has long been evident to everyone. For a bold step forward of the progressive ideal, educationalists and artists, and indeed human beings in general, will do well to keep an eye on the little town of Oxford, Ohio." And the New York *Globe* writes in an editorial: "Our material wealth and material aims have brought us to a climax of indecision and moral futility. It would be no more than fair if we should endow a few chairs of creative artistry with a little of the wealth which burdens us, in the hope of finding leaders to deliver us from the sun-baked wilderness of pure commercialism. Most of the young men and women who train for the professions choose their work primarily as a means of making a living, and if a good living can be made by the writing of good music or good poetry, and tangible proof to that effect is seen daily before the students' eyes, the effect will be marvelously potent in the stimulation of talent that now lies latent. The choice of men to honor would not be wise in every instance, but wiser usually, doubtless, than is the case when everything is left to popular appeal."

This choice of incumbents is, of course, a salient consideration in the right development of the Fellowship idea, especially in its early stages. The number of creative artists who combine sufficient reputation with availability is at any time limited, yet such a combination is requisite to insure confidence in the innovation and sufficient continuity

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in tenure. A few such artists, however, are undoubtedly always available, and happily a very few such could, as university fellows, become a profound influence in American education and life. With the gradual growth of the movement, they could also, through some informal association, foster a related usefulness of their function—namely, the growth of opportunity for young creative artists, who have not yet attained public recognition, to pursue their art untrammelled. For it is often in the fecund period of youth that the artist most needs—and is usually denied—his best creative opportunity. To discover and emancipate real creative powers, still unrecognized, is, however, a work of discernment and delicacy—a task for both knowledge and sympathy on the part of accredited good judges. A solution for this problem at the right time might well be worked out by the artists of reputation holding fellowships, together with the presidents of their respective universities.

Of course, all that is suggested in this article applies as much to universities for women as for men. Holders of fellowships in creative art would not at all of necessity be university men and women, yet in the process of time I think they would increasingly be so, especially as the growth of the fellowship idea might itself affect the situation.

During the months I have spent at Miami University, nothing has impressed me more than the almost overwhelming sense of the latent capacities of youth—of that American youth which is pouring, torrential, through the sluice-gates of our universities as never before. Almost anything is possible of those capacities. But are the vigor and glory of that youth destined to become merely submissive motor-power for driving the engines of commercialism, or are they to be insurgent springs of the waters of life, quickening with their awe-inspiring energies the multiform growths of beauty, imagination, altruism, social foresight, organic civilization for America? Is the commonwealth which they are hastening to create "in some sort to satisfy that inextinguishable

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passion of the soul for something that lifts life away from prose, from the common and the vulgar?"

These are searching questions which the recognition of that "inextinguishable passion" by our universities shall assuredly help to answer hopefully.

SILENCE

By M. FRANCES POILE

In silence was the Universe conceived,
In silence doth the heart of man seek out
That other Heart to rest on; Nature's soul
Yearns ceaselessly to give its speechless calm
Unto her restless children as they roam
Far from that central peace which is their home.

Would'st know thy mother Nature face to face?
Would'st hear her silent heart beats? close thine ears
And still thy senses; would'st thou feel her arms
Enfold thy being? thou must give thyself
In uttermost abandon to her will
That she may teach thee the one truth—be still!

Be still—and from the Silence shall arise
A mem'ry of forgotten mysteries.
A healing peace descending on thy soul
Shall bear it up to regions beyond words
Where thou shalt learn the secrets of the earth,
Of wind and flame, and how the stars have birth.

Then shalt thou know thy heritage of joy;
Borne on the pinions of the Bird of Life,
Tuned to the rhythm of revolving spheres,
Feeling with all that breathes, with all that strives
For union with its prototype above,
The silent comforter whose name is—Love.

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SHALL WE STRANGLE GERMANY?

By SIR GEORGE PAISH

THE difference between what is possible in war and in peace is extraordinarily great. In war, nations and individuals are prepared to make any sacrifice and to submit to any injury essential to winning the war. In peace, everyone desires well-being, certainly not the suffering of loss and privation.

In seeking to penalize the Central Powers for the great injury they did to the Entente nations in the war the statesmen failed to take into account the new situation which came with the Armistice and which demanded new methods and new measures. In war, an opponent can be forced to do what the stronger is capable of making him do, but in the effective making of peace, the cooperation of both parties is needed.

It is possible to obtain territorial compensation for injury received so long as the victor is strong enough to hold the conquered territory, but it is not possible to obtain a money compensation if its payment would destroy the vanquished as effectually as a refusal to pay. Passive resistance in peace is far more difficult to overcome than active resistance in war. It is a good economic reason for moderation in the settlement of peace that the terms should be honorably accepted by the vanquished and that he should freely cooperate in carrying them out. If, however, the peace is drafted for the purpose of destroying the vanquished by its political, economic and financial conditions, then there is no question of cooperation. But this implies territorial possession, not unlimited monetary compensation.

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At both the Paris and London Conferences this elementary fact has been overlooked. The Peace Treaty was drafted by the victors without negotiation with the vanquished, and is proving unworkable because its economic and financial terms cannot be realized without the cooperation of the Central Powers, and because the terms are so drastic that the Central Powers not only have no inducement to carry them out, but in the opinion of many independent experts, cannot carry them out.

Again, in London the terms of reparation were dictated to the vanquished, although the sums demanded cannot be collected without the latter's concurrence and cooperation—that is to say, they could not be collected even if they were within his power to pay.

It is commonly understood, however, that the Entente statesmen generally, and in particular the French, by reason of their anxieties for the future, do not desire the German people to carry out the Peace Treaty or to make reparation. They prefer, it is understood, to occupy the country, if possible to break it up, and thus to render Germany quite incapable of renewing the conflict at some future date.

Whether or not this is the real intention of the Entente statesmen is unknown, but clearly it is impossible to impose such drastic terms of peace and at the same time to expect Germany to make reparation. Obviously, the drastic terms of peace were intended to reduce the military, economic and financial strength of Germany to a minimum, and inasmuch as these terms were followed by demands for an enormous sum for reparation (a sum which not even an extraordinarily productive and wealthy nation could pay) there seems to be justification for the assumption that the object in view was not reparation but destruction.

There is, indeed, little room for doubt that the Peace Treaty and the demand for so large a sum for reparation were intended to complete the work which the war had left unfinished, and by reducing Germany to permanent pov-

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erty, to prevent her from renewing the struggle at some future date.

Much may be said for this policy. If Germany is allowed to recover there is the possibility that she may renew the war in the distant future and that in such an event the well-being of France and of Great Britain would be even more seriously injured than in the late war.

It is true that the British people have no serious anxiety about any such renewal of the conflict, believing that if it came it would end in the same way as the recent war. But France with her memories of 1870, when she had to face Germany alone, and with her nervousness through all the long years since that time, has great anxiety and is apparently unwilling to take the risk. Hence, were it possible to reduce Germany to a state of impotence and to keep her in that state permanently it is evident that such a course would be pursued. Indeed, at the present moment this policy still finds great favor in France. In Great Britain, however, the course of events has already begun to open the eyes of the British people to the futility, indeed the impossibility of such a policy. It is becoming widely recognized that the destruction of Germany economically and financially, will inevitably entail great suffering for France and Great Britain, as well as for the rest of the world; and that whereas the danger of recurrence of war is problematical and remote, there is immediate danger, not only economic and financial, but political as well, in taking any action that will prevent the recovery of the Central Powers and with them of the whole of Europe, including France and Great Britain.

The demand upon Germany for sums rising from one hundred million pounds a year to three hundred million pounds a year in twelve years, and their maintenance at that high figure for another thirty years, is already causing much uneasiness in British banking and commercial circles, as well as among the great mass of the working men and women of the country. It is realized that such a demand upon Germany would, if it were complied with, involve the sale of

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German goods in every market in the world in fierce competition with British goods, and that this competition would be extraordinarily difficult to meet. Germany must sell her goods in order to remit the required sums for reparation, or be subjected to fresh sanctions, and whatever might be the prices at which British goods would be offered, the German goods would have to be sold cheaper. Great Britain is, however, compelled to sell very large quantities of manufactured goods in all markets in order to purchase food and raw material upon which her dense population so greatly depends for sustenance, and consequently the resultant fierce competition between the two nations would inevitably result in reducing prices so low that wages in both countries would be brought below the subsistence level, thus doing great injury to British labor. At the same time there would be no profit whatever for British manufacturers and traders.

In brief, it is now widely appreciated that to reduce Germany to extreme poverty would be to reduce all the nations with which Germany competes to a nearly equal degree of poverty, a condition of things which would certainly be most detrimental to the British as well as to the other manufacturing nations of the world.

In considering Germany's ability to make reparation to the fullest extent of which she is capable, without injury to other nations, it is necessary to take into account the difficulties with which she is faced. First of all she needs to buy abroad a very considerable percentage of the food her people require. Before the war she bought not far short of twenty per cent. of her supplies, but owing to the war her power to produce food has been greatly reduced, mainly by her loss of man power and her inability to attract immigrant labor from surrounding countries. At the present time her crops are equal to not much more than fifty per cent. of her normal consumption, and even after her machinery of production has been greatly improved it is likely that she will need to buy abroad something like thirty per cent. of her food supplies.

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Again, the loss to her of Alsace Lorraine and of other territory will compel her to purchase a still greater quantity of raw materials than prior to the war. Hence, her pre-war exports must show great expansion in order that she may purchase abroad the necessaries which her people require.

But these are not all her difficulties. Prior to the war the great expansion in her foreign trade was with the surrounding nations, no less than seventy-five per cent. of her exports having been made to the other countries of Europe. (Parenthetically, it may be pointed out that Great Britain's exports to the other countries of Europe were only thirty-five per cent. of her total exports.) The injury which the war has caused to Europe must therefore seriously affect Germany's power to sell her exports. Indeed, the poverty into which Europe has been plunged by the war must greatly react upon German well-being. By making war Germany has largely destroyed her own markets, and with them not only her power to buy, but her power to sell. Doubtless, she will endeavor to meet this situation by selling more freely in overseas markets, but these are now supplied by Great Britain and by the United States, and attempts to sell increased quantities of German goods in these markets will be hotly contested by her two chief competitors. These overseas markets would be able to absorb greater quantities of manufactured goods if they were to receive vast numbers of new immigrants, but unfortunately the world is not in a position to supply the capital which such immigration would require. Prior to the war the efflux of people from Europe to the new countries was attended by a corresponding efflux of capital not only from Great Britain but from France and Germany also. Now neither France nor Germany is able to supply capital for these new countries and in view of the injury to Great Britain caused by the poverty of the Continent, Great Britain herself is unable to supply capital to anything like a normal amount. Moreover, if Great Britain or America did supply capital they would also supply the goods which the immigrants would require and Germany's

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power to sell in these countries would not be appreciably increased. Moreover, Germany's power to sell her goods in foreign markets has been largely diminished by the liquidation of her firms and agencies in foreign countries as well as by the feeling of hostility towards her which the war has created.

Thus, there can be no doubt that Germany will for some time to come have great difficulty in selling sufficient of her own products abroad to pay for imported food and raw material which her people so urgently need. Indeed, only when the effects of the war are completely overcome and the world's productive power is restored will it be physically possible for Germany to sell goods to a greater extent than she will need to sell in order to pay for the food and material she requires to maintain her own people. As matters now stand, with no one willing to supply credit to the European nations for reconstruction, either on their own security or on the security of German reparation, Germany is in no position to make reparation. If, however, the credit which Europe needs for reconstruction were supplied and were granted to France, Italy, Poland, Serbia, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia and other nations, also to Russia, then the situation would greatly change. The provision of credit to restore the devastated areas would set up a great demand not only for food and raw material, but for manufactured goods as well, and Germany would then be able to sell great quantities of manufactured goods and should be able to make substantial reparation payments. Furthermore, if and when the devastated districts were restored and the productive and purchasing power of the whole of Europe returned to a pre-war level, Germany should continue to pay a substantial sum, annually for reparation. The amount of such sum would be governed not only by Germany's power to manufacture, but by the ability of the other European countries to purchase German goods, as well as, by the willingness of outside countries, with which Germany in the past had no very great trade, to increase their purchases of German goods.

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If Germany were able to sell all the goods she required to sell in order to pay for the food and raw material she needed to buy from abroad, the task of manufacturing and selling a reasonable surplus should not be difficult. When the whole world is prosperous its power to purchase is extraordinarily great, and in periods of prosperity Germany should be able to sell large quantities of goods over and above what she needed to sell in order to buy. But periods of active trade are short lived. In periods of depression or of moderate trade activity Germany would experience very great difficulty in selling goods to a greater value than the produce she needed to buy in return. It is true that Great Britain for the last sixty or seventy years has been able to sell goods and services to foreign nations to the extent of about fifty million pounds a year over and above what she needed to sell in order to pay for the produce she bought, and that at times the excess mounted up to over two hundred million pounds per annum. But always after periods of great capital exports there was depression when it was difficult for England to sell more goods abroad than she was prepared to buy in return. Indeed, sometimes she could not sell sufficient goods abroad in order to pay for what she needed, and had to pay out of the capital she had previously invested abroad.

Consequently, in calculating how much reparation money Germany can send abroad yearly over a long period it is essential to take a reasonable average. Inasmuch as Great Britain's average has not been over fifty million pounds a year, taking periods of depressed trade with active ones, notwithstanding all the inducements she had to place money abroad, it may be safely concluded that Germany will not be able to sell on an average more than one hundred million pounds worth of goods per annum in excess of the value of the produce she is prepared to buy from the rest of the world, especially having regard to the fact that her remittances would be made, not by the hope of gain. Indeed, some of our leading British bankers of international reputa-

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tion are doubtful if she could succeed in remitting abroad as much as one hundred million pounds per annum, year in and year out, over a long period over and above what she had to remit to pay for essential food and material. Therefore, were she to agree to pay abroad an annual sum ranging up to three hundred million pounds a year and to maintain that figure over a period of thirty years, not only is it doubtful if she could honor her agreement, but it is practically certain she could not do so, even with the best of intentions.

Having regard to all the conditions, as well as to the prospect that the world's trade will show great expansion in the future, provided the necessary credit were supplied to enable Europe to be rebuilt, I personally feel justified in calculating that Germany could pay abroad a regular sum for reparation amounting to about one hundred million pounds per annum over a period of forty-two years. Germany herself does not wish to extend the payments over thirty years, but the longer period is desirable, as it would enable a large loan to be immediately raised on the strength of the reparation payments, and its immediate burden upon the German people reduced by spreading the sinking fund payments over a longer period of years. To redeem a loan in forty two years a sinking fund of only one per cent. per annum is required. An annual payment of one hundred million pounds a year for forty two years should enable a credit to be immediately raised on the strength of Germany's reparation payment of about one billion, five hundred million pounds on a nearly six per cent. interest basis; an amount, which if it could be raised without delay would be a godsend to the crippled nations, as well as to the rest of the world. In fixing the reparation at a reasonable sum, another consideration must not be overlooked. The smaller the amount, the greater would be the confidence of bankers and investors that the annual sums would be honorably and regularly paid, especially if the German people willingly and freely assented to the payment. A credit of one billion, five hundred million pounds would be enough to rebuild

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the devastated districts, and should so greatly increase the productive power of the European nations that they would have no difficulty in raising whatever additional credit they required in order to reorganize their currencies, to replace their gold reserves and to provide themselves with fresh working capital. As regards the total cost to Germany of the payment of an annuity of one hundred million pounds a year for forty two years it should be realized that allowing for compound interest at five per cent., the total sum paid would be no less than fourteen billion pounds.

The question which has now to be answered by the statesmen of the Entente and of America is: What shall be the policy towards the Central Powers, and more especially towards Germany? Is Germany to be allowed to recover, or is she to be destroyed? If the latter, then it should be realized that Germany's power to make reparation will entirely disappear, and with it any chance of the Entente nations obtaining the credit with which to rebuild their devastated areas and to recover their economic and financial stability. Again, is she to be allowed to recover and to pay all that she is capable of paying without her people being kept in a state of extreme poverty, and without injury to the other great manufacturing nations? This question is of vital importance to the entire world, for if Europe is allowed to sink into bankruptcy and anarchy by reason of the policy pursued towards the Central Powers, the well-being of all nations will be permanently injured. The delay in answering these questions has largely contributed to the existing distressing conditions of national and international trade.

An effective peace based upon the consent of the vanquished, cannot fail to bring renewed prosperity to victors and vanquished alike; the maintenance of war under the guise of peace will inevitably involve the destruction of both victors and vanquished and the impoverishment of the entire race.

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MOTOR TRUCKS VS. RAILROADS

By EDWARD G. RIGGS

"ALREADY road motor-transport has become a rival of the railways, and already, by this alternative means, the railway strike is robbed of its power to cripple the community. The road motor has broken the power of the railway strike."—R. P. Hearne in *The Sphere,* London.

This article, however, has nothing to do with railroad strikes, or proposed railroad strikes, and has no connection whatever with differences between employer and employee. It is intended to portray the exact situation of motor truck taxes and their connection with high public policy—policy for the good of all the people. The approximate total debt of the country is twenty-four billion dollars, a debt which will doubtless, in a large measure, be hanging over this country a century from the present day. It is therefore essential that all industries pay their proportionate share of the taxes which are already burdening the federal, state and municipal governments, not to speak of our citizens.

A few questions, therefore, naturally arise out of the acute situation. Are we going to pay doubly for the poor earnings of the eastern railroads? They are now competing with trucks for the freight business of the East. Are these trucks running on free roadbeds and escaping an upkeep cost that will later be borne by taxpayers? The trucks have caused serious damage to the best paying freight business of Eastern railroads because they have the advantage of good roads now. We hear complaints, however, from road commissioners, who are particularly bitter against the larger trucks. Will our highways and railroads both go to ruin together?

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The high freight rates of the railroads made necessary by the great increases in materials and wages, has struck a deadly blow at the very profitable short haul business of the railroads. The auto trucks are getting it. At the end of January the total idle freight cars on all the railroads was conservatively estimated at 400,000, and the number has been steadily increasing ever since. It is now over 475,000.

Probably the first intimation that a great American railroad is considering how far it can abandon short-haul service to the motor truck was given by President James H. Hustis of the Boston & Maine in an important recent statement on the New England railroad situation. Mr. Hustis referred to the investigation of motor truck transportation by a special committee of the New England traffic league, and said:

"We are engaged in a careful study of the extent to which the Boston & Maine is justified in undertaking to meet this form of competition. The salient fact disclosed by the investigation was that for certain classes of freight for distances of 50 miles or less the motor truck rate was lower than the railroad rate. To the freight rate it is also necessary, of course, to add cartage at the point of origin and again at the point of destination in order to ascertain the full cost of transportation."

In the eastern part of Massachusetts the American Woolen and other manufacturing concerns are doing much shipping by truck. Similarly there are concerns in the Connecticut valley which operate their own trucks regularly to New York. It has seemed certain for about two years that eventually the railroads must tell many communities that short-haul service could not regularly be maintained in competition with that of trucks and that a choice must be made between the two.

President Hustis, in his statement added that the average maintenance cost of 700 miles of state highway had increased from $100 per mile per year to $1,500 per mile per year during the period in which motor vehicles had

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come into general use. The public maintains the highways, with the aid, of course, of motor vehicle license fees, but the railroad must maintain its right of way out of earnings. As President Hustis said:

"It obviously involves an economic waste to build up two transportation agencies where one will serve the purpose."

Statistics for 1920 show that motor trucks carried more tonnage than either inland waterways or interurban trolley lines. Motor transport now ranks second only to rail transportation. In less than ten years' time motor transportation has grown from nothing to its present prominence. A concrete example of the remarkable growth is had in a check taken of traffic between Akron and Cleveland, Ohio. In two years' time loaded truck tonnage increased approximately 200 per cent.

The care exercised by the railroads in taking care of their right-of-way and countenancing no destructive practices sets an example for truck operators. Tests recently completed by the Bureau of Public Roads show that a truck traveling at the rate of 15 miles per hour exerts twice the force on the road as when traveling at the rate of six miles per hour. By overloading trucks for travel over roads not built to carry the extra weight the owner is destroying a piece of public property and invites the severe criticism of citizens of the community. Summed up, the problems of the trucking industry are largely educational—education of the public to the service performed by the motor truck, and education of the motor truck operator to the use of better business methods.

In short, the motor truck has inaugurated a new era in transportation. It seems most unlikely that this carrier will ever supersede the railway to anything like the extent to which, for instance, the railway superseded the canal, but it has already claimed for itself a large share in traffic of a certain sort. It bids fair, as time passes, to win more than it has yet got. The state which fails to realize that long-distance truck hauling has come to stay and neglects to

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provide for it suitable highways may suffer for its lack of foresight, by lost opportunities.

Coincidently, at the time Mr. Hearne's comment appeared in *The Sphere,* there was introduced in the New York State Legislature at Albany a bill to assess the big motor truck which fast is becoming a tremendous factor in transportation and industry. The bill called for a tax of one hundred dollars for each ton capacity on all trucks of five tons or over. This meant a tax of $500 on a five ton truck and $1,000 for each ten ton truck. The tax on trucks smaller than five tons would be doubled. It now ranges from $25 to $45, so that under the proposed law the assessment would still be less than $100.

Senator Lowman, chairman of the Internal Affairs Committee, speaking in support of the bill, said:

"These heavy trucks do so much damage that it is impossible to keep the roads in repair and the bridges in safe condition. The tendency is toward increasing the capacity of trucks, and conditions are getting worse all the time. It has now come to the point where the State must decide whether it is going to rebuild entirely its system of roadways and bridges or preserve those we have. We cannot legislate these big trucks off the highways so we must tax them off."

The bill attracted marked attention in nearly all the states. What is happening in New York is occurring elsewhere, though the tax propositions have not been so definitely formulated. Every state that has built good roads is suffering from this trouble, and an interstate conference might well be held to consider ways and means of effecting road protection and road development in recognition of the fact that motor trucking is now an established and growing means of transport.

Governor Miller of New York, asked to explain why the proposed tax on motor trucks contemplated at Albany was increased in greater proportion than the tax on other vehicles, replied:

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"Because it is just that they should be more heavily taxed. The motor truck is becoming more and more a means of transportation for short distances, and is supplementing the railroads in this way. The highways were not designed originally for such heavy traffic, and are unable to carry it. The motor truck is destroying the highways of the State and imposing a greater burden for maintenance and repairs than the State has ever had to bear before. In addition to this expense of repairing roads already built, the motor truck will increase the expense of building new roads, which will have to be constructed in a more solid fashion in order to carry the heavier traffic.

"When provided by the State with a roadbed the owner of motor trucks has no grievance if he is asked to pay a moderate tax to maintain it. The proposed increase is not large. And I can conceive of a situation which would make it advisable to levy in addition to the license a tax on gross earnings. This would apply to motor trucks just as it does to any other common carrier." The bill was lost in the Assembly but is to be again introduced at Albany next winter.

The Connecticut state motor vehicle department and the state highway department have agreed upon a plan for increasing the license fees for motor trucks so as to net the state $3,000,000 instead of $1,800,000 annually, and the *Waterbury Republican,* speaking editorially of the plan, says:

"The proposed increase would mean that the fee for a one ton truck would be $25 and for a five ton truck $450, with the others in proportion. These fees will seem very high to all truck owners, of course. But if it is fair to charge truck owners fees so that they will pay for the wear and tear of their trucks on the highways these fees may not be too high, considering the increase in the cost of road building."

Minnesota has adopted a constitutional amendment providing a fund of $100,000,000 to build a State highway system under State supervision. Each of the eighty-six coun-

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ties gets its proportion of mileage and the system will reach every county seat and important trading center. This leaves the usual State, county and township funds to be used wholly on the laterals whose lighter traffic can be economically served by graveled or macadam surfaces. In this way the farmers can carry full loads from the farms to the markets. But this is not all, the entire $100,000,000 fund is to come from a special license tax on motor cars of all kinds. The Minnesota legislature is now busy making laws to carry this into affect by apportioning this tax on horse power and load or weight. Moreover, the State is not only to build this system of main highways, but is to forever maintain them. In other words, motor cars will build, maintain and renew these roads by this same means of motor vehicle license tax which is in lieu of the usual personal tax on them. As the application of the amendment will be by State laws, this can be changed from time to time by equalizing the burden where experience shows it belongs. If five tons for heavier trucks develop unexpected destructive powers, they can be taxed accordingly, and the limit of size allowed can be determined. Indeed, the time may come when the developed use of this form of heavier motor transportation may call for especially constructed surfaces of sufficient depth, reinforcement and pounding resistance to stand this traffic.

Approval of the heavy tax on the larger automobile trucks to compensate for damage done to highways was contained recently in a statement by Edward S. Cornell, secretary of the National Highways Protective Society. He said the $100 fee for trucks of more than five tons capacity proposed in the New York Legislature might be confiscatory, but that there was need of a graded tax. The damage done by heavy vehicles to the highways in the spring was an important reason for the tax penalty, as even the best constructed roads will break down under such loads, he added.

It is well known that during the winter and spring thaws when even our concrete and bituminous macadam roads are in unstable condition, one five ton truck loaded to capacity

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will do more damage in one trip than will constant light traffic over a period of weeks or even months. In the summer when the tar dressing of macadam roads is soft, the heavy truck again exacts a heavy toll.

George F. Shrady, for five years Superintendent of the Board of Water Supply Police along the great aqueduct which furnishes New York City its water supply, who made daily trips over New York State roads, these trips affording him an opportunity to become familiar with the methods employed in road construction, says:

"Heavy trucking is without doubt a contributing cause to our bad roads. I have frequently seen large trucks with their cushion tires and chains plough deep furrows in a macadam road, especially in wet weather. A twenty horse-power truck with solid rubber tires will do more damage to a road in one trip than a sixty horse-power touring car with pneumatic tires will do in a thousand trips.

"A truck license costs only $5, while a license for a touring car costs $15. As a truck does most damage to a road, why not charge more? Why not charge according to weight instead of horse-power?"

Regarding the proposed extra tax on heavy motor trucks it should be considered that they have become important competitors of our railroads, particularly on short hauls. The trucks operate on a right of way maintained by the state and municipalities at the expense of the community. Most of them have no terminal upkeep and they maintain no exacting schedules, but leave when loaded.

On the other hand, the railroads competing for the same short haul business are handicapped by a complicated, exacting and uneconomical set of working rules and conditions, as well as by a higher wage scale maintained by legislation. They operate on a right-of-way secured and maintained by themselves at an enormous yearly expense, and because of exacting schedules demanded by public convenience terminal expenses are very high. Also, they pay heavy taxes

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to the state, part of which is for the upkeep of state highways.

Then, too, most of the trolley companies pay for cleaning, sprinkling and oiling streets, for removing snow, for new pavement and paving maintenance covering the space between their tracks and two feet outside and for one-third of the cost of new construction and one-third of the cost of maintenance account of all trunk line highway bridges having a span greater than twenty-five feet and located in towns or between towns having a population of 10,000 or less.

A news dispatch recently said that a railroad in Virginia having a short haul of but fifty miles had abandoned part of its service and contemplated scrapping the road because of motor competition. From now on the question as it applies to railroads will become increasingly serious: Shall we abandon the railroads or shall we equalize conditions of labor employment and taxes so as to give the railroads a fair chance to demonstrate their right to survive, at the same time compelling the motor truck to pay its entire proportionate part of the expense of maintaining the highways which it uses?

Are not the stock and bond holders of the railroads, the people who put their money into this vast transportation machine which consists of 260,000 miles of railroad and about 404,000 miles of track—invested their money in good faith—entitled to say that the motor truck should pay its proportionate share of the taxes? The total book value of the transportation machine is about $20,000,000,000, or about $80,000 per mile of road. The capital representing this great machine in the hands of the public is about $16,500,000,000, or $66,700 per mile of road.

The stocks and bonds of American railroad companies are in the hands of the public—are owned by insurance companies, savings banks, guardians, trustees, and by hundreds of thousands of individual investors, representing every trade and calling. The once more or less prevalent idea

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that the railroads are owned by a few great financiers is erroneous. Everybody knows that the securities of our railroads are scattered all over the country—an investment of the people. The Bureau of Railway Economics, in a recent statement, announced that the ownership equities of American railroads are really in the hands of more than 50,000,000 people.

In 1918 there were 53,923,734 life insurance policies in force with the legal reserve companies. Among the assets securing these policies were nearly $1,700,000,000 of railway securities, 26.25 per cent. of the total assets, and a failure to protect these securities affects directly the holders of these policies and the beneficiaries thereof.

There is no question but that the heavy truck is responsible for the greater share of the damage done to state highways each year and so the question arises: Are we going to subsidize the heavy duty truck as against the railroads and the community at large, or are we going to compel them to pay their way?

The motor truck owners of Pennsylvania are protesting against a bill now in the legislature which proposes to increase the license fees for such vehicles from eighty to two hundred per cent. The protesters against the legislation are representative citizens whose business is of a character to be encouraged rather than discouraged. The truck owners no less than the automobile owners of Pennsylvania, who use their machines for pleasure, ought to pay a license fee large enough to cover the cost of keeping roads in repair once they are built; but they ought not to be required to pay more than this.

Let me give you a table of official figures which shows the real situation. These figures come from the Secretaries of State, State Highway Commissioners, and public officers with the official figures constantly before them:

	Amount Appropriated for Highway Improvements 1920	Taxes Collected from Auto Trucks 1920	Taxes Collected from Railroads 1920
Alabama	$4,500,000.00	$350,000.00	*$2,000,000.00
Arkansas	16,800,000.00	42,000.00	263,000.00
District of Columbia	1,430,300.00	*28,327,90	193,297.97
Georgia	1,905,000.00	*420,000.00	†559,970.81
Idaho	1,000,000.00	120,570.00	527,150.00
Indiana	5,000,000.00	303,339.00	*9,452,620.35

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Iowa	7,500,000.00	449,536.00	4,962,946.00
Maine	3,630,000.00	82,000.00	1,576,087.61
Maryland	3,200,000.00	360,387.50	*1,000,000.00
Montana	3,290,000.00	*10,000.00	3,645,685.46
New Jersey	7,593,166.24	654,283.50	10,545,653.62
New York	16,576,444.54	*2,066,587.50	†2,442,471.51
Pennsylvania	30,000,000.00	1,415,110.00	†10,589,061.03
Rhode Island	1,633,000.00	76,617.00	102,242.39
Texas	51,903,458.56	450,000.00	†2,580,000.00
Virginia	5,117,000.00	238,828.20	2,670,138.91
Washington	4,117,000.00	1,138,769.38	†6,612,388.20
West Virginia	5,000,000.00	150,000.00	†3,501,105.80
Wisconsin	2,809,000.00	268,180.00	6,837,056.47

*Estimated figures.
†1919 figures.

The taxes collected from auto trucks in 1920 as distinguished from licenses for automobiles are not kept separate in Arizona, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Utah and Vermont. Should not more progressive bookkeeping methods be adopted by the foregoing states, this in order to tell the taxpayers of those states exactly the real situation in determining the future policy in the administration of motor trucks vs. railroads? The taxes collected from auto trucks are not available in California, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, South Carolina and Wyoming. The taxes collected from the railroads in 1920 are not available in California, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee and Wyoming.

The great public interest in the proposed motor truck taxes is demonstrated by the editorial comments in our newspapers. *The Litchfield County (Conn.) Leader* puts it very pertinently in a terse, crisp editorial when it says:

"It seems a bit like irony for the convention of the American Road Builders' Association, at Chicago, to demand that the railroads lower the price of transportation on all materials, cement, crushed stone, etc., used to build highways. The same highways, of course, are designed to make more efficient and economical the use of trucks which are fast taking away the business of the railroads. Isn't it 'crowding the mourners?'"

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ON DISARMAMENT

By WILLIAM GRANT BROWN

CAN our civilization which makes the right to own property an essential element of liberty, meet its obligations and survive under the present debt of the world and continue the increasing cost of international competitive military establishments?

The people of the world, in contradistinction to the governments of the world, are making the protests that always precede revolts against governmental policies which continue conditions that lead to international conflicts and preparedness for fratricidal wars.

The people are opposed to the Communism of the Bolsheviki. They would preserve property rights but they will stop wars through their governments as at present constituted if they can, but in any event, they will stop wars with other governmental agencies if necessary, and in so doing, let us not complain if the methods may be crude and if they should fail to recognize the existing world debt in their future budgets.

Before the people of the world came into one big family, through the discoveries of the alphabet, printing press, steam and electricity, with all their manifold applications to social life, nations advanced, declined and passed off the stage of the world without affecting seriously other nations. Are not nations today as interdependent as capital and labor, for illustration? Is there a single responsible public man living who pretends to even intimate that Europe can advance socially, politically and industrially, keeping all her obligations and committments, and at the same time, continue to prepare for international war? Can such an important part of the world family decline without carrying down with it

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the rest of the family? In addition to all the well known ties that bind the human race together, Mr. Gary is organizing industrially the steel interests of the world, labor is perfecting its international brotherhood, and a system of international banking is being worked out. Our country manufactures more than it consumes. Our people are more than half in cities. They cannot return to farms. Can Americans live by themselves alone? If Europe declines, will it not drag us down with it?

It is authoritatively said that ninety per cent of all our taxes grows out of war expenditures and the consequences of war, and this percentage is probably true in other countries. How long will the people of the world permit their governments to continue this waste and its consequent burdens and miseries? The people of the world might at present feel the moral responsibility of legal obligations made through their governments in the past, and agree now to assume and pay the world's present debt and thereby preserve civilization, liberty under law, with the rights of property and the sacredness of contract as an essential element thereof, but will they do this and not repudiate the old system as completely and finally as they did when they abolished Feudalism under King John?

What is the remedy? Treaties are the supreme law of the land, and thus of the world, and through a treaty or league under a treaty, the people of the world may take away from their respective governments the right to settle the disputes between nations by the use of force, and compel their governments to submit such disputes to a court of general jurisdiction, the same as individuals do their differences.

In the light of the following facts, can the world pay its debts and continue the war game, and if not, what then?

National Population in 1918 and National Debts before the War and at Present

		Population	Pre-War Debt	After War Debt
Great Britain	(1914)	46,089,249	$3,444,000,000	$37,985,000,000
" "	(1918)	52,698,000	.....	.....
United States	(1910)	91,972,206	1,103,000,000	26,116,000,000
" "	(1919)	106,871,294	.....	.....

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Russia	(1915)	166,657,900	4,537,000,000	25,750,000,000
China	(1911)	320,650,000	(estimated)	.....
France	(1911)	39,602,258	6,346,000,000	34,842,000,000
Italy	(1915)	36,120,118	2,921,000,000	15,600,000,000
Japan	(1913)	53,362,682	.....	.....
"	(1918)	57,784,935	.....	.....
Germany	(1910)	64,925,993	1,194,000,000	37,150,000,000
Great Britain Colonies	(1914)	437,947,432	3,297,000,000	6,971,000,000
Belgium	(1914)	7,571,387	156,000,000	4,000,000,000
Austria-Hungary	(1914)	50,000,000	1,044,000,000	25,799,000,000
Turkey		.....	843,000,000	1,485,000,000
Bulgaria	(1914)	4,755,000	223,000,000	486,000,000

Cost of War to Neutral Nations

Holland	$ 672,000,000
Switzerland	250,000,000
Sweden	429,800,000
Norway	130,000,000
Denmark	90,000,000
Other countries	178,200,000
Total	$1,750,000,000

Incomes and Cost of Administration, June 30, 1920

Country	Estimated Receipts 1919-20	Total Disbursements
United States	$21,499,790,327 (1918)	$23,441,383,565
Great Britain	1,201,100,000 £	1,665,772,928 £ (Expend. 1920)
France	10,064,657,897 Fr. (1918)	8,926,534,330 Fr.
Italy	5,099,929,886 Lire (1919)	4,810,654,310 Lire
Russia	.....	49,100,000,000 Roubles
Germany	372,038,381 £ (Tot. Rev.)	387,938,381 £
China	$ 472,838,584 (1916)	$ 472,838,584 (Expend. 1916)
Japan	1,037,000,000 Yen (1919-20)	823,305,480 Yen (84,045,768 1)
Austria-Hungary	4,854,789,000 Cr. (1918-19)	.....

It is apparent that the world's bonded debt has been increased by one hundred billion dollars and that the disbursements of the several countries are exceeding their receipts, and thus new sources of income must be found or the present tax rate increased. The young men killed in the war numbered 12,990,570. Property on land worth $29,960,000,000 was destroyed, and $45,000,000,000 in production of the useful things of the world was prevented. Of sea-going merchant vessels 13,007,650 gross tonnage was destroyed and lost at sea. The direct costs of the war were $186,333,637,097 and the indirect costs of the war were $151,646,942,560, making the total direct and indirect costs of the war $337,980,579,657.

Great Britain, United States, France, Italy, and Japan have appropriated for the year 1920, two billion dollars

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more than these same countries appropriated during the fourteen years prior to 1920 for military establishments; and the United States under the present program is spending more for war purposes than all these others combined. The rates of exchange with the other countries clearly indicate that they cannot liquidate their indebtedness, unless the time is extended, and when the United States cannot sell its surplus manufactured articles abroad on account of exchange rates, in due course a similar condition will obtain here.

Without a complete, frank understanding and agreement between the peoples of the world for the liquidation of their mutual indebtedness, over such a period of time that will permit the world's production to pay the debts and the immediate stopping of the costs of future international wars, there can be but one end, viz.: the confiscation of property, with the inevitable consequences that have followed such action in the past.

Our institutions have cost so much, and are so important to us and to the rest of the world, as an example in politico-social organization, that the American people are justified in not only continuing their present military program, but should in addition establish universal military training, for the sole and only purpose of maintaining on this continent our system of government and our national integrity throughout the world, pending our inducing the other nations to join us in the pro rata reduction of navies, and the necessary guarantees of the submission of all international grievances to a court of general jurisdiction.

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JULIEN T. DAVIES

Memorial of a Leader of the Bar

By JOSEPH S. AUERBACH

WHEN asked to prepare a Memorial of Julien T. Davies, I at first thought that our peculiarly intimate association as partners and friends for more than a quarter of a century might cause me to write of him too markedly under the promptings of sentiment, and that, therefore, another selection would be preferable. Nevertheless, conference with friends, and the reflection that not merely activities in Court and office are to be recounted of a Leader of the Bar who drops out of the profession of life, have persuaded me that our comradeship need not interfere with preparation of a tribute fitting to his professional eminence, responsive citizenship and exemplary character.

In Mr. Davies, Judge Henry E. Davies reared a son who was to add distinction to the name of the father. And by reason, of the precept and example of that father—whose memory to him always was a great possession—of his own intellectual equipment and the ennobling traditions of our profession, Mr. Davies united in himself those rare qualities which made him the fearless advocate and the trusted as well as resourceful adviser. Along with an almost clairvoyant insight into complicated questions of law and fact for elucidation of the truth, he had not alone an ardent sense of fidelity to the client but an honorable obligation to the Court, of which he never failed to remember it was his privilege to be the candid officer. Never did nobleman appraise more jealously the proverbial responsibilities of rank, than did Mr. Davies the compelling ideals of his high calling. To be in doubt as to the propriety of a course of conduct was to be resolved against it; and his whole life

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was a rebuke of the shallow cynicism that the law is what is boldly asserted and plausibly maintained.

That such devotion to his profession was with him a chief article of faith, no better illustration can be given than by a quotation from his Address before the Bar Association of the City of New York on the 50th Anniversary of its existence. On that memorable occasion he was one of the few surviving founders of the Association. And though ex-Senator Root and John Proctor Clarke, the Presiding Justice of our Appellate Division, were the other speakers, the Address of Mr. Davies did not suffer by comparison with what they so acceptably said.

It is difficult to conceive what could be taken from or added to this eulogy without detracting from its dignity and fitness.

> In dwelling upon the work of this Association during the past fifty years in maintaining the honor and dignity of the profession of the law, naturally there arises before us some mental conception of the characteristics of that honor and dignity. Whether one contemplates a lawyer's life and work from the standpoint of over fifty years' experience or a few months' trial, each member of our profession must feel that he has been set apart from the mass of his fellows for a peculiar and distinct career that demands adherence to the highest standard of conduct. It is not essential to claim by comparison any superiority in usefulness or distinction of lawyers in general over those who have chosen other spheres of activities. Fifty or a hundred years ago, such a claim might have been put forth with greater force than now. The greatly increased productivity of the world, due to inventions and use of machinery and vastly greater facilities of communication and transportation, has led to such distributed possession of wealth and to such ease in its acquisition, that the brainworker, who, if he is to be actually a lawyer, and not a broker in legal business, must pursue thought for thought's sake, and cannot accumulate largely, and in a community where the power of money is held as most desirable and admirable, must necessarily yield in importance. It is enough for us to claim that the peculiar features of our calling give to it all the honor and dignity that human nature requires for complete satisfaction. First and foremost among those characteristics is the attitude of sympathetic helpfulness that the counsellor must assume towards him who applies for aid, who is never allowed to depart without receiving some thought that will assist in the disposition of the problem presented. Then comes the intellectual pleasure of the search for truth, for the true solution of the difficulty in the light of reason and precedent, and the glow of satisfaction with which a conclusion is reached, that satisfies the searcher and that can be defended with the strength of him who is thrice armed "who has his quarrel just."

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> Who can be indifferent to the charm of exercising one's persuasive and convincing powers, be they ample or limited, before court or jury, or, as more frequently occurs, upon client, associate or opponent, in the give and take of consultation? Always as a sworn officer of the Court, always, whether in argument, trial of a cause or consultation, engaged as part of the machinery for the administration of justice, always engaged in the furtherance of composition of differences and the avoidance of private warfare, always acting as a helper and a healer, what more honorable and dignified course of life can be pursued than that to which we have fortunately devoted ourselves? In recognition of all this, was this Association formed, has it for fifty years pursued its useful career, and God willing, may it be continued by our successors for the years to come.

From the day almost of his majority and admission to the Bar he was a familiar figure in the Court Room, before Courts of original jurisdiction and Appellate Tribunals, where, not only by profound knowledge of legal principles and mastery of the facts but by a general culture, he was enabled to present the finished as well as the lucid argument. Nor should such an attainment be lightly passed over, for no one can justly claim that in respect of literary quality, the oral argument of Counsel to-day is, as a rule, on a level with that of the advocates who were Mr. Davies' contemporaries. While he never indulged himself in rhetorical, perfervid utterance, he was truly eloquent in the phrase of vigor, and precision. Understanding full well that the language of formal argument is not wholly appropriate for colloquial interchange of views, he understood, also, that slovenly speech was to be abhorred always, and that one who persisted in cheap expression in or out of Court was likely to voice only cheap thoughts. More than once he and I have discussed the well-nigh scandalous consequences of the prevailing slothfulness in these respects. The *laudator temporis acti* or the panegyrist of *aetas parentum* is prone to unduly eulogistic estimate of the past. Yet concerning the ungrateful disregard we exhibit for our priceless inheritance of the English language, there is little likelihood of any statement approaching to exaggeration. And, we of the Bar, if quite candid with ourselves, must admit that the ambitious address of many a trained lawyer today often

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seems to strive for rivalry and invite favorable comparison with the jargon and slang of the street corner.

Not infrequently we are called upon to listen to the remark, for which no slight justification exists, that Judges have become intolerant of oral arguments—so infelicitously often does the lawyer acquit himself. When, however, the forceful, scholarly presentation is heard, the Court can be relied upon to welcome the novel experience, as a substantial aid in promoting a right determination of the cause and the preparation of the convincing opinion. Our universities boast of the many things they are teaching and of the superiority of the present-day university curriculum to that of the College of former years. Yet in the essential matter of training the undergraduate for disciplined expression they are lamentably deficient. Although none knows better than the lawyer that form is of the substance of things —to the extent of determining even the constitutionality of statutory enactment—he, at times, gives little or no adequate heed to its influential effect upon the written or oral argument.

It was an equal pleasure to hear Mr. Davies in or out of Court, with his graceful, unostentatious speech made possible by a generous vocabulary. For declamation was not less foreign to his nature than that which is popularly characterized as special pleading. Yet he never permitted himself to believe that a cause, however worthy, would necessarily argue itself or his hearer to conclude that engaging conversation was a lost art. In professional work he was not influenced, much less controlled, by promptings of vanity as to his personal achievement. He did not even aim to feature himself as the accomplished advocate, being willing to sink his individuality in the cause he was urging; and, accordingly, victory for the client rather than applause for himself was the end sought for and so frequently gained.

It is unnecessary to enumerate all the important cases in which Mr. Davies was engaged before the Courts of this State or the Federal Courts or to speak in detail of his other professional activities. A few illustrations will suffice.

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In the early years of his practice he was required to give much of his time to the searching of titles to real estate. He was a pioneer, however, in recognizing that such work could be more acceptably done by corporations created to guarantee, as well as search titles, and he accordingly participated in the organization of the Title Guarantee & Trust Company, of which he became, and continued until his death, to be a prominent Director.

His notable work in matters of taxation attracted attention at the beginning of his career, and he was the author of an authoritative book on the subject. He conducted also many important litigations in this field, involving particularly taxation of the shares of National Banks; and one of the leading cases argued by him in the United States Supreme Court—*Hills* v. *Exchange Bank*—established the right of stockholders to deduct indebtedness from the assessed value of their shares.

He was Counsel in important cases in the United States Supreme Court involving the subject of insurance, among which are:

Mutual Life Insurance Co. *v.* Cohen, 179 U. S.
Phinney *v.* Mutual Life Insurance Co., 178 U. S.

Other well-known cases which he argued in the Supreme Court of the United States, and in other Courts of Appeal, are:

Rogers *v.* New York & Texas Land Co., 134 N. Y.;
Matter of New York & Long Island Bridge Co., 148 N. Y.;
Havana Central Railroad *v.* Knickerbocker Trust Co., 198 N. Y.;
Knickerbocker Trust Co. *v.* Evans, 188 Fed.;
Brushaber *v.* Union Pacific R. R. Co., 240 U. S.

Upon the failure of the firm of Grant & Ward, in 1884, of which ex-President Grant was one of the chief victims, he was appointed Receiver of its assets, a position which he held, and a trust which he discharged with signal credit.

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It will be seen from this brief reference to his professional life that Mr. Davies was a general practitioner, in the old and honored sense of the term. His identification with the vast number of suits involving claims against the Manhattan Railway Company for damages by owners of property abutting on the streets occupied by the elevated structures should, however, be specially referred to. To carry on this exacting litigation he created a special law department, of which he was the active head; and as an illustration of the volume of the work, it should be added that for a long period the calendar of our Supreme Court of original jurisdiction was congested with these cases, and more than two thousand of them were tried at Special and Trial Terms, and nearly one thousand Appeals were argued.

The quality of the work, too, was on a par with its volume, and it is quite safe to say that but for his brilliant efforts in restricting the amounts recovered against the Company, its control would have passed permanently from its owners into the hands of judgment creditors. He obtained a decision from the Court of Appeals upholding the contention of the Company, that benefits to abutting property should be considered in the estimation of consequential damages. In another case, the correctness of the insistence by the Company to a prescriptive right to maintain its structures in the streets, after twenty years of unchallenged and adverse possession, was finally established. In still another case, the judgment of the Court below denying the claim of the abutting owner to an absolute injunction against a third track upon the elevated structure was affirmed, although it had been held that the Commissioners who authorized and approved of the third track had acted in excess of their powers. Again, he succeeded in sustaining, against the formidable objections of dissenting stockholders, the validity of the so-called Tripartite Agreement which had made possible the organization and continued existence of the Company.

Nor should reference to his identification with the resumption of business by the Knickerbocker Trust Company

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of New York be omitted, for the circumstance was not only of vital consequence to the community, but in a real sense to the country generally.

In 1907, the Knickerbocker Trust Company, with scores of millions of deposits, had failed and a national financial panic, which the suspension precipitated or materially contributed to, ensued. It was assumed by the public that the suspension would go the way of similar suspensions, and that the Receivers would distribute what remained of the assets to depositors and stockholders. A Committee on Resumption, however, was formed by prominent directors and other persons in the community, and Mr. Davies, whose firm had been Counsel to the Company, was selected as its chief adviser. Very largely by reason of his indomitable patience which partook of genius, his tact and untiring and creative energy, resumption of business by the Company was brought about, to be followed by consolidation with the Columbia Trust Company—the new company being styled the Columbia-Knickerbocker Trust Company and afterwards the Columbia Trust Company. There had been no instance in the history of financial institutions where a like failure was not followed by a perfunctory liquidation of the embarassed company.

Though I have spoken of Mr. Davies' courage, its unique quality may well be emphasized; for it was not only courage in the practice of his profession but in his daily walk of life. He and fear kept no company. And it can be as truly said of Mr. Davies as it was said of Mr. Choate by Mr. Root in his illuminating Memorial Address before the Bar Association of the City of New York: "He was wholly free of any impediment of timidity. This quality did not impress one as being the kind of courage which overcomes fear, but, rather, a courage which excluded fear. With him, no such emotion as fear seemed to exist."

Once in a case of more than ordinary importance, wherein our firm represented the defendant corporation against which a mortgage lien was being foreclosed by one of the prominent trust companies of this city, a well-known busi-

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ness man had been agreed upon as Receiver of the property by the respective parties. A disturbing rumor made Counsel solicitous lest an equally well-known politician of not altogether savory record be appointed by the Court. It was determined, therefore, to discontinue the action and thus avoid the possibility of any such calamity. Accordingly, Mr. Davies, in company with Counsel for the Trust Company, asked of the Judge before whom the application came, what was the clear right of the litigants, that an order of discontinuance be signed forthwith. The Judge hesitated, almost to the extent of declination, to carry out the agreement, and his whole attitude was fairly substantial confirmation of the rumor. Mr. Davies pressed the point and—announcing an intention to remain until the application had been granted—admonished the Judge in solemn, unequivocal language that further hesitation was not prudential. Whereupon the Judge, exhibiting no little unseemly display of temper, signed the order with reluctant pen and flung rather than handed it to Mr. Davies.

He had, too, another kind of courage, such as few men have ever possessed—that imperturbable, stoic fortitude which rises superior to the grief which so often dries up the springs of endeavor and even hope. That spurious philosophy of La Rochefoucauld, which triumphs over past and future evils but which permits present evils to triumph over it, was no part of Mr. Davies' creed of life. Three of his children died in their youth, then Mrs. Davies, and later two grown sons, one a member of our firm and the other a banker, after the torture of long illness, and last, a daughter very dear to him. Yet under such cumulative affliction he did not falter but found tranquility, and it may have been solace, in the stern summons of duty. And at the end there was but one child—a beloved daughter—to follow him to the grave. Surely life to Mr. Davies was in some respects a very grim business.

Tenacious in receiving recognition of what was due him—over-tenacious, perhaps, from the point of view of some modern-day loose thinking on the subject—he was recipro-

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cal in this towards others. For no persons, however humble of position, needed to plead with him for their rights, since one of the joys of his life was to accord such recognition without any plea. Once an office boy in the employ of our firm had been called to rather summary account by Mr. Davies for some supposed neglect or misconduct. It transpired that the boy was not blameworthy and I mentioned the fact to Mr. Davies, who thereupon sent for him, and, on learning the facts, not only apologized to the boy as to an equal, but criticized him because he had not on the first occasion insisted upon stating the facts. Of uniform courtesy to persons in his own walk of life, Mr. Davies never neglected to extend to all about him the little amenities of life which so many of us are disposed to forget. He loved, of all things, to award merited praise, and he would have been as willing to pick a pocket as to appropriate credit not belonging to himself. Nor did he ever fail of thoughtfulness to those who had ministered to his success or comfort; and to the employees of his office and of his household he made by Will generous bequests, varying with the terms of their service.

No worthy appeal to which he was able to respond was ignored; and this generosity was of that higher quality which gives abundantly of one's self. For not a few well-known lawyers of to-day can attribute some of their repute at the Bar to the fact, that Mr. Davies not only pointed out to them in youth the prudent way, but in a true sense, through sympathetic, stimulating counsel, took them by the hand and went with them part of the journey. Moreover, his abounding charity was such, that in all my years of intimacy with him I never knew him wittingly to harbor an unkind thought or a petty grievance or to utter an ungracious word.

He had no more liking for professional altruism than for any other manifestation of pretense, nor did he crave a specious popularity gained so often at the sacrifice of one's self-respect. And though no one more than he loved the exhilaration of intercourse with friends, solitude for him was peopled by a goodly company of congenial thoughts.

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A man of sentiment, sentimentality was repellant to him. Spiritual in thought and often a dreamer of quickening dreams, he was practical always in the best sense; and none better than he realized that "while arrows are to be aimed at the stars, they can at the same time be shot in directions likely to transfix and bring down something for the urgent needs of earth." Accordingly he was able to say with Walt Whitman:

I am afoot with my vision.

A well-balanced man, he attained to a discriminating judgment as to men and things which often seemed unerring, and conference with him was a kind of inspiration to his associates. Devoid of sympathy or even tolerance for new-fangled notions, with little or nothing but novelty to justify their currency, he was progressive in thought and deed, whilst holding fast always to the principles and institutions which had survived the discerning test of Time. Yet if I were asked to feature his one distinguishing trait of character it would be his unswerving love and passion for the Truth, with which he would tolerate no paltering and no compromise. That with him was a religion.

When past middle life Mr. Davies was warned that his impaired physical health due to over-work was such that he must, if he wished to prolong his days, take up some diversion which would compel him to be out of doors. Thereupon he became an expert shot and ardent fisherman. Unlike so many intellectual men that yield to enslaving demands upon their requisite leisure, Mr. Davies drank deep of the miraculous Chalice proferred us by Nature, wherefrom we may, if we will, receive wisdom and strength and high resolve, with the saving grace of serenity and joy. And many were the hours of delight we passed profitably together as industrious idlers in wading a trout brook or on a salmon river, in the duck blind or with gun and dog in the field. He heeded well the sanity of the injunction:

To mix his blood with sunshine and to take
The winds into his pulses.

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According to his frequently voiced hope he continued always actively with professional work, dying in the harness of routine, as Emerson expresses it; and to the last his mental powers and resourcefulness remained unimpaired, whether in the controversy of Court Room, in advice to client, or in consultation with associates or opponents. Nor did the advancing years bring to him any of the gruesome thoughts catalogued in that uninviting, spiritless poem of Mathew Arnold, *Growing Old*. On a professional errand in Boston, he was stricken down with pneumonia; and afterwards, when near to recovery a clot of blood gathering at the knee —the recurrence of an old ailment—was released, and he died of embolism of the heart. It was at Phillips House—an Annex of the Massachusetts General Hospital—overlooking the Charles River Embankment and almost out of doors with window raised and to the song of birds, that the end came in the fullness of his fruitful years.

His burial, too, was with the benediction of what Henley calls a shining peace. Of all sports fishing, perhaps, was most appealing to him; and one of our firm, who had gone in advance of others with the flower-car to the family cemetery at Fishkill, witnessed this: An old fellow of the vicinage, with fishing basket—not the creel—on his arm, and a pole—not a rod—over his shoulder, and in typically homely attire, was returning quite evidently from some neighboring trout stream. After a significant pause he turned and preceded the hearse to the grave; and then with sympathetic mien and solemn step, he walked away. Perhaps it may be thought by some that this little journey of the old fisherman merely afforded him a short cut to his home, but I prefer rather to believe he was present there to wish a kindred spirit Good Luck! And when I asked of the Rector of Grace Church—who had read the commital service and the all-embracing Gladstone prayer, to the accompaniment of the song of a wood thrush on a near-by tree—whether he did not agree with me that Mr. Davies, in some way, some-

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where, must have known of this touching incident, he expressed himself as sure it was so.

His life was one of unremitting energy—he would not wish me to say toil—and fine achievement, with many honors and not a little grievous sorrow. He contributed to the common weal from the day when deserting his studies he enlisted in the Civil War, to become one of the veterans of the Grand Army. Moreover, he manifested this virtue as I once said, in a Memorial Address, the late Bishop Henry C. Potter had manifested it—not only during emergencies when the volunteers are many, but likewise at ordinary times when it seems often necessary to draft even men of conscience and power into the public service. For though he neither filled nor sought to fill public office, there was no cause which made for more salutary political or social conditions that was not sure of Mr. Davies' cordial alliance and heartening co-operation Throughout his life he fought a good fight and kept the faith; and on the monument over his grave is to be seen the Requiem of Stevenson, which seems especially written for him, and which he loved so much in its exquisite, stirring Homer-music setting.

Incapable intellectually of giving credence to the forbidding orthodoxy of yesterday, he was reverently religious; and his abiding trust in an eternal righteousness was disquieted neither by doubt nor by what must have seemed to him, at times, the untempered dispensations of Fate or Providence. He never permitted his sense of civic responsibility to be daunted by public apathy or error; with reassuring word and hand he lifted up many a man that had stumbled and was in sore need; of the cause of good government, under indictment by blatant or insidious demagogy, he was the inspiriting advocate; he added distinction to a great profession; and after his work was over and he was able to leave, to that profession and the community and to those who loved him so much, the proud legacy of an unsullied name and an unimpeachable example of right thinking and right living, he laid down his life, as the Requiem of Stevenson says, with a will.

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THE ART OF TRANSLATION

By FREDERIC HARRISON

AMONG the intellectual advances of our age none is more important than the sense of a high literary standard in the art of translation. We all now recognize the critical part which translation has to play in general literature. For all but men of wide learning, much of the great literature of the world is know only by translation. Take the supreme case of the Bible, of which the authorized version formed the master type of the English language. To the millions the power of the Old Testament is due to the sublime effect of a unique translation from the Hebrew: and to me the New Testament in English is grander than in the Greek—itself being largely a translation of other tongues. See how many immortal works are known to the general reader only by translation: Homer, Plutarch, "Don Quixote", Montaigne, even to many "Gil Blas" and "Faust". But for adequate translations these would be sealed books to the multitude. It is then of supreme importance to maintain the true laws of translation. And the chief of these laws are: one, exact rendering of the full meaning; two, some echo of the original form; three, clarity, grace, and vigor in the new version.

Now all through the eighteenth century, almost down to living memory in the nineteenth century, famous translations were produced in defiance of the first two canons of translation, aiming only at clarity, grace, and vigor in literary English, neglecting the meaning of their author, and substituting a totally different rhythm of their own. The most brilliant example of this was Pope's "Iliad". The

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life and ring of these heroic couplets have carried the substance of the immortal epic over the world, but they were utterly careless of the Greek words, and alien to the glorious roll of Homer's hexameter. Even more alien to the stately pathos of Virgil and the subtle melody of the "Aeneid", was Dryden's version. The success of both started off translators in the same style—Dr. Francis' Horace, Rowe's Lucian, Gifford's Juvenal, Hoole's "Ariosto" and his Tasso — "Translations by Several Bards", it was called—Potter's "Attic Dramatists", Melmoth's Cicero, and the like. The aim was to produce "an elegant version," to imitate the point and cadence of Pope and Dryden ,the flow of Addison's or Johnson's prose. They made what musicians call "variations" of popular themes. The exact sense of the original, the harmony of its form, was no business of theirs.

All this time the great scholars, many in Germany and Holland, occupied themselves in collating texts, explaining the meaning of the classics, usually in Latin and with ponderous comments. They were not troubled about fine versions, and seemed afraid of being thought readable. At last in 1791 Cowper's "Iliad" and "Odyssey" showed what could be done in blank verse to render the meaning of Homer. Cary, in blank verse, opened to English readers the idea of Dante's great poem, which, if faithful in sense, conveyed little indeed of the profound music of the Italian. Then Shelley and Coleridge proved how the meter of Milton could give us adequate translations of such poets as Calderon, Goethe, and Schiller. In the middle of the nineteenth century our chief scholars undertook the most exact rendering of the classics in pure and graceful English, which was at once nobly faithful to the original and retained at least its dignity and life. George Long, H. A. J. Munro, John Conington, Professor Jowett, Sir Richard Jebb, Andrew Lang, Verrall, Rogers, Morshead, Bywater, Gilbert Murray, Dr. Way, J. W. Mackail, Professor Fowler, have given us in prose and even in verse, the sense if not the majesty of the great books of old.

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In prose literature we may almost claim for them a complete success. Herodotus, Aristotle, Thucydides, Plutarch, Marcus Aurelius, Lucian, are now revealed to the mere English reader in their full sense and range—even Plato, in all but his incommunicable charm. For the poems of the ancients we can make no such high claim. The first and the third law of translation have been achieved—yes! exact meaning, clarity, and vigor. But alas! where is the supreme form of the original, the music, the mystery of word, the unforgotten vision, the inimitable phrase of the true seer? As Shelley told us: "It is impossible to represent in another language the melody of the versification; even the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation." Now Shelley wrote this as a note to his verse rendering of the opening of Goethe's "Faust"—one of the most beautiful bits of translation of poetry in our language. If Shelley could not achieve the problem, no one else could. Dante had said much the same long before. Still, translation of poetry has to be. If the melody of the original cannot be transferred, some "echo of its form" must be caught, for even perfect prose of any sublime poem will always strike us as cold—wanting in something.

For Homer, as many poets claim to be his translator as cities claimed to be his birthplace. Pope caught some ring of the battle hymns, but he sang them in a modern tune of his own invention. Cowper—as poet, the absolute antithesis of Homer—in a modest and scholarly version, gave us the sense of the "Iliad", but nothing of its majesty and fire. Then George Chapman, poet and scholar, made a splendid attempt to do the impossible in a version which revealed the Hellenic world to John Keats, we know, but which, by its unwieldy seven-foot rhyming couplets reduced the "Iliad" to what was hardly English verse—and certainly was not Homer's hexameter. He felt this, for his "Odyssey" was in the five-foot couplets, like Pope's, and was more like English verse, but not more like Homer's. I can read Cowper's "Odyssey"; and there is much beauty in Philip Worsley's

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version of the "Odyssey" in Spenserian stanza. All attempts to put the "Iliad" into any form of stanza, or any form of rhyme, or into dactylics, or hexameters, much less into any ballad meter, are in my opinion utterly futile. If we want a translation in verse—and we do want it—I prefer Lord Derby's "Iliad" in Miltonic blank verse. It has accuracy, dignity, vigor. The Stanley, at least, was a chieftain, a ruler of men, an orator.

Ancient poetry can be turned in our blank verse; but rhyme is abhorrent to Greek and Latin; and it is the inevitable snare in all our attempts to translate either. The glory, the value, of the classical tongues is in the precision, subtlety, and parsimonious use of words. An English sentence must use twice as many words as the equivalent Latin; and nearly as many against the Greek. Now, the exigency of rhyme compels a translator to resort to expletives which are not in the text he is copying. Hence, phrases steal in, which dilute and confuse the sense. Whatever the poverty of our blank verse, it is free from the seductions of rhyme. Again, the structure of our tongue, with crowded consonants, crashing vocables, and paucity of vowel endings, makes imitation of the ancient meters hopeless. The first line of the "Iliad" has only five words. In English there must be ten. The first line of the "Aeneid" has eight words. In English there will be fifteen. The "Iliad" and the "Aeneid" are composed entirely of dactyls and spondees. In English there are no true dactyls nor spondees. An English dactylic hexameter is too long, too jumpy, too much of a ballad for a grand epic. For Homer especially there are excellent prose versions, in the rather antique spirit of Malory and Browne, the "Iliad" by Andrew Lang, Leaf, and Myers; the "Odyssey," by S. H. Bekker and Andrew Lang. The true Homer is embedded there.

The Greek dramatists fare better in translation than Homer; for their dialogues are mainly in iambic meter, and iambic is the natural meter for English verse. A long succession of poets and scholars has given us versions of Attic

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tragedies and comedies. Dean Milman, Robert Browning, Professor Lewis Campbell, E. D. A. Morshead, Professor Gilbert Murray, Miss Anna Swanwick, Sir George Young, Dr. A. S. Way, have translated in verse Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides. J. H. Frere, T. Mitchell, B. B. Rogers, Professor Gilbert Murray, have made brilliant versions of Aristophanes. In prose, the great tragedies have been admirably rendered by Sir Richard Jebb, Dr. Verrall, and many others. To my mind, Dean Milman's "Agamemnon," Miss Anna Swanwick's Aeschylus, and that of Mr. Morshead, are the most like poetry in English. Browning's experiments in "Agamemnon" and Euripides would sound horribly queer to a Greek, and the Agamemnon of Fitzgerald is an unforgivable paraphrase. With all the scholarship and versatility of Professor Murray, I cannot allow the use of rhyme in the iambic dialogue of Greek tragedy. Rhyme fatally obscures and dilutes the sense and is alien to the Pheidian majesty of Aeschylus. The Aristophanes of B. B. Rogers is an astonishing triumph of the power of English verse to render the dazzling life and riotous wit of the greatest of all comic poets known to man.

For Greek lyric poetry I can find no possible verse translation, unless it be Calverley's Theocritus. But Pindar has been admirably translated in prose by Ernest Myers; and so Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus have been equally well given by Andrew Lang. So, too, the lovely lines of the Anthology have been translated in prose by J. W. Mackail. When we come to Sappho, translation is useless, except to help us read the fragments in Greek. The beautiful little book of H. T. Wharton, 1885—"Sappho: Memoir, Text, Renderings, Prose Translation," has more than thirty translations in verse by famous persons from Catullus to Mr. Gladstone. None of them will do. The literal prose is bald and lifeless; the verse is mere modern prettiness, more than doubling the words used, and losing all the passion and fire. Greek lyrical poetry, above all Sappho's hymns and wails, can only be felt in their native tongue. As Shelley tells us—"the

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volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translations."

And all this is evident when we come to the Latin epic and lyrics. Dryden's "Aeneid" offends against all canons of translation even more than Pope's "Iliad." It is not correct: is alien to Virgil's form: and what vigor it has, is wholly without grace. In his huge dedication Dryden discusses rhythm and boasts about his system of scansion; but he is blind to the infinite refinement of Virgil's art, and he is deaf to the exquisite pathos of the inimitable verse. How the Mantuan would shudder as he joins Homer in the Elysian groves, could he hear the sing-song of Dryden's cheap treble rhymes! Nor is Christopher Pipp's version much better. Then a great scholar, Professor John Conington, having made a valuable prose translation of the "Aeneid," must needs turn it into the short ballad meter of Scott's "Marmion"—an outrage to the stately "andante" of Marot. So, Lord Bowen, a brilliant scholar, did six "Aeneids" in a dactylic catalectic hexameter of his own invention. Dactylics are impossible in English verse, as Tennyson told us:—

"Barbarous experiment, barbarous hexameter."

The only possible verse translation of the "Aeneid" is Miltonic blank verse—as was true of the "Iliad." And this has been excellently achieved by Mr. Charles J. Billson who has given a version of the entire "Aeneid" in blank verse, exactly line for line with the text on the opposite page (2 vols. 4to 1906). The book from its size and cost may not be widely known. But to my mind, it is the type of what a verse translation of an epic should be. And in this meter we have Tennyson's magnificent rendering of the "Iliad" VIII. 542-561.

Munro's "Lucretius" is the pride of Cambridge scholarship, and his careful prose translation has opened to all who care to seek it the mystical agnosticism of the ancient world. A good version in blank verse has recently appeared by Sir

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Robert Allison. Robinson Ellis' life work on Catullus has been again the pride of Oxford scholarship, but his attempt at verse translation is a melancholy mistake. Roman lyrics are as untranslatable as the Greek—perhaps even more so, owing to the severe conciseness of the Latin tongue. There are good translations of them in prose; but I cannot find any real success in verse. A prose version of a lyric is like hearing a thrilling song strummed over a piano. Blank verse kills the lyric quality altogether. And modern rhyme causes constant dilution and variations. Of all lyrics this is most conspicuous in the Odes of Horace. These depend for their charm on the simplicity, brevity, precision of phrase—the "curiosa felicitas"—the "concinnitas" of the apt—the only word. A line of Horace has to be expanded into two lines of English—five words become ten or twelve—and still the exact connotation is exhaled. Mr. S. A. Courtauld has published the Odes with metrical versions on the opposite page from some fifty authors. They are all diffuse, or obscure, or unmusical—anything indeed but Horace, in spite of their ingenuity and care. Oddly enough, where famous poets, even Milton and Dryden, quite misrepresent or embroider Horace, Calverley, Conington, Lord Ravensworth, and Whyte Melville, if they cannot hit the bull's-eye, make a close mark in an "outer." As good as any is Mr. Courtauld's own version of Ode I. 9.—"Vides ut alta stat nive cardidum."

> "See! where Socrates' lofty brow
> Is mantled o'er with glistening snow;
> How with the weight the forests bow,
> And clogged with ice the rivers flow."

Yes! quite good! were it not that English needs twenty-five words to express what Latin can put in seventeen words. And then, the snare of rhyme! "Brow" and "snow" are too near in sound to make different rhymes. And "flow" is hardly right for "constiterint."

Mr. Courtauld adopts the excellent plan of printing the original on the opposite page, as Mr. Billson does with the "Aeneid," and as Sir Richard Jebb has done for his

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Sophocles, and Mr. B. B. Rogers did for his Aristophanes. This is the practice also of the very valuable collection known as the Loeb Classical Library, which already presents in handy 12mo. volumes a series of Greek and Latin authors in verse and prose with translation and original on opposite pages. In these neat manuals they whose ancient learning has gone rusty, and they with whom it was never quite bright, may renew, or improve, their familiarity with the immortal works of old. And there is a recent book by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, who arranged the Cambridge acting version of the Oresteia, I mean his new "Oedipus Tyrannus." It has the Greek on one page, an exact translation on the opposite page—the iambics in blank verse, and critical notes to explain what in English drama would be ample stage directions, and divisions of acts and scenes. This seems to me the type of what is wanted to illustrate the Attic tragedies. And it is the plan long ago used by B. B. Rogers in his Aristophanes to which his whole life was devoted.

We turn now to the modern languages, of course, first to Italian, for this was far the earliest of the modern languages to assume a final and organic structure. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio wrote a finished poetry and prose, when English, French, and Spanish were beginning to crystallize. For Dante an enormous amount of labor has been expended, and many lives have been devoted to illustrate, explain, and translate him. In prose versions a great success has been achieved. In 1849 John Carlyle, brother of Thomas, published a fine prose version of the "Inferno." Since then Mr. A. J. Butler has turned the entire Divine Comedy into pure and vigorous English. And Mr. W. Warren Vernon has published and republished in six closely-knit volumes the three cantos with literal translation in sectional "readings," and abundant historical and literary comments. The prose, too, of Abbé Lamennais in archaic French will be of great use to those who are beginning to study Italian.

It is impossible to notice all the verse translations. Cary, Pollock, Longfellow, and many more, in blank verse or in

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couplets, do something to give the sense and the profound rapture of the poet. But with Dante, as with Homer, it is the grand music of the form which is the mark of the supreme poet. And the form of Dante's great poem is more intricate and more subtle than that of the "Iliad." Those who have studied the terza rima with its treble rhymes, the involution of the tercets, the concatenation and development of the idea where the rhyme sounds like an echo, of "the linked sweetness long drawn out," "the hidden soul of harmony"—they well know how impossible it is to reproduce that in another language. Again, Italian offers such contrasts to English—one with its musical words, ending in vowel sounds, its shrinking from a net of consonants, from doubled and trebled letters, and harsh discords, the other, with all its power and life, proudly disdaining languorous cadences. All this defies the transfusion of the "morbidezza" of Italian into the masculine and organ-note of our tongue. For that reason I hold all attempts to imitate the rhyme or to resort to the meter of the original to be futile. Cayley, Plumptre, Wright and others, have used immense ingenuity and labor in pursuing a phantom. Dr. Shadwell tried the short stanza of Marvell's "Horatian Ode"—one pair of rhymed eight-syllable lines, and one pair of rhymed six-syllable lines. Alas! short uneven lines, rhymed couplets, are far away from Dante's majestic epic march. What English can match—"Lo di che han detto ai dolci amici addio"—or again—"Dolce color d'oriental zaffiro"? None, I trow!

When we come to the Italian lyrists, they have exercised a masterful influence on our poetry from the fourteenth century until our own day. Dante and his cycle, his predecessors and his followers, Petrarch, Filicaja, Manzoni, and Leopardi, have been the models of our sonneteers. Dante and those before and after him invented the sonnet; Petrarch perfected it and settled its canons. A full account of these and of this influence may be read in W. Courthope's great "History of English Poetry" (6 vols., 8mo., 1895-1910). Wyatt, Surrey, and the Tudor poets passionately

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seized on the general idea of the sonnet, fourteen lines with alternate rhymes—but they did not know, or could not adopt, the strict Petrarchian formulas. These were—two quatrains of alternate rhymes in a very artful sequence, with only two rhyming sounds for the whole eight lines—then, at the end of the eighth line a certain pause, with two tercets also in artful sequence, with two, or at most three, new rhymes, but no rhymed couplet at the close. The Tudor lyrists did not attempt this most artificial and very difficult system. Shakespeare's Sonnets follow a different scheme—viz., three quatrains rhymed alternately, and concluded with a final rhymed couplet, so as to have seven different rhymes in the fourteen lines, instead of four or five. For the first time Milton wrote English sonnets in the true Petrarchian form, or very near it. Our poets have been very shy to fetter themselves with those exotic rules—Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Swinburne have other melodies of their own. But Wordsworth, Keats, Rossetti, Sir W. Watson have perfectly mastered it.

I believe that all attempts to imitate in English the meters of Greek, Latin, or any poetry in dactylic—or any form that makes a foot to consist of three syllables, will fail, owing to the nature of our language. Our words consist of so many knotted consonants that few words of three syllables can be pronounced readily as a single foot; and even if a dactylic foot of three syllables is made up of short words—a, in, to, the—the next word often begins with thick consonants which in utterance cause a kind of stress. However little English verse regards quantity, in the Greek and Latin sense, the laws of the human tongue assert themselves in utterance, and make it difficult or unpleasing to pronounce quickly syllables in which the vowels are embedded in a fence of consonants. Who could pronounce as dactyls, tribrachs, or anapaests, such words as—pleasantness, downhearted, commandment? The best that can be done is, by slurring over long syllables, to make them serve in iambic or trochaic meters. All the great and long poems in English

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are necessarily written in iambics with partial use of trochees, and even they are grandly indifferent to quantity.

Thus, on these grounds I hold that the only practical meter for English translation of great poems should be in the unrhymed blank verse which proves to be so noble an instrument in the hands of Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, and Tennyson.

As to Spanish poetry, with its archaic system of assonance in lieu of what we call rhyme, there is no need to attempt "a version in the original meter." Calderon's glorious dramas have been well translated by D. F. McCarthy, who has turned fourteen plays in successful English. The eight dramas by Edward Fitzgerald, by his own admission, are rather paraphrases than an exact rendering of the Spanish. They are surprising examples of what paraphrase can do; and, as he says, this is rather fit for the more homely pictures of national habits than for the imaginative poetry of Calderon's greatest.

Some scenes of "The Magician" have been nobly rendered in blank verse by Shelley. Would that he had done more to make English readers know the poet who in Spain filled the parts of Shakespeare and of Milton, giving his country the national tragedy and the ideal of the national religion.

We have been fortunate indeed to have abundant translations of the great Spanish work of Cervantes, for a mastery of the difficult text of "Don Quixote" is not common. For centuries Jervis, Motteux, Smollett, made it known to the English reader. Since then J. Ormsby and Fitzmaurice-Kelly have made scholarly translations of this immortal work. It is interesting to note that our English tongue and our British sense of humor enable us to put in racy and familiar style the broad and domestic vernacular of Spanish and even of French comedy. This is true also, I think of "Gil Blas," which Smollett also translated and imitated, and which can be fairly well read in English as in French. And for many readers this is the case also for Rabelais. The

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same fact strikes us in our wonderful modern translations of Aristophanes, whose plays bristle with swarms of strange phrases, wild compounds and all the slang and ribaldry of the market place. Yet a scene in Rogers' version looks to us as obvious and as irresistible as a scene with Falstaff and Bardolf.

As to French poetry, no one ought to want translations, and there are hardly any to be had. The grand tragedies of Corneille and Racine are neglected by those who have Shakespeare on the brain, and no other tragedies allowed to enter—or else by those who have never witnessed these plays on the French stage. It is only there, not in the book, that the pathos and dignity of French tragedy can be felt. And the wit, the humor and horror, the truth of Moliere as the great "censor morum," can only be judged when we listen to the supreme art of French actors in the "maison de Moliere." So I will not trouble about translations of French plays. There are none of Corneille, and only one of Racine. Van Laun has translated Moliere well, but Moliere is only himself in his own house. And I do not think that any English versions are needed for the sparkling and fascinating lyrics of France — those chansons, epigrams, rondels, which might be expressed by a Russian dancer better than by an English versifier. The mighty Hugo was almost too much for Tennyson or Swinburne. But Sir George Young has made some quite successful versions of selected odes, songs, and ballads of Victor Hugo. I advise all who have valued them to go on to the original French.

If German poetry is not read in the original by so many and read as easily as the poetry of France, on the other hand, German poetry and prose go into our tongue more readily and naturally than do French or Italian. Goethe and Schiller are at home with us. There is an army of translators of "Faust"; Miss Anne Swanwick, Bayard Taylor, Sir Theodore Martin, and others—all with the dialogues and soliloquies successful—but hardly so with Goethe's inimitable lyrics. Miss Swanwick and others have translated

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in verse Goethe's other dramas. I have recently seen on the stage the "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides in the rhymed version by Professor Gilbert Murray, and comparing it with Goethe's "Iphigenia," also translated by Miss Swanwick, it struck me that Goethe's drama, with a different plot, was a poem of a far higher range, with a more noble ideal of woman and of man, than the play of Euripides, which withal would make a more interesting melodrama when powerfully presented on the stage to those who could enter into the extravagant and inhuman mythology of the Hellenic Pantheon. Schiller's dramas have been well translated also. Indeed I find Coleridge's version of "Wallenstein" better reading than Schiller's German. The prose of Schiller or of Goethe may go in English perfectly well.

Heine's lyrics are to my mind as little fit for poetic version in English as Goethe's—even less so; for Heine has not only a rare gift of the "cantabile," but a rich vein of that verve which is wanting in German "geist." Selected poems have been rendered as well as possible by Sir Theodore Martin and others. Heine's prose can be read with enjoyment in English prose—much as we can read "Wilhelm Meister" in Carlyle.

In concluding these brief notes on translation I would only say that the prose of all languages can be—and has been—translated with entire success in English prose. The greater poetry of Greece and Rome, of Italy, of Spain, of Germany, can be—and has been—translated in blank verse with all but the incommunicable music of the original. Translations "in the original meters" are always doomed to disappointment from the stubborn quality of our tongue. And the haunting lyrics of Attic tragedy, of Sappho, of Horace, of Catullus, of Dante, of Petrarch, of the old French songsters, of Heine and Goethe, are really untranslatable, inasmuch as "the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation." So says the greatest of all our translators—Shelley himself.

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AUSTRIA'S SITUATION

By DR. MAXIMILIAN SCHIFF

WHEN we speak of Austria to-day, we must bear in mind that German Austria, or the Republic of Austria, comprises only that portion of the German-Austrian Alpine region which has remained unaffected by the claims of Italy and Jugoslavia. The new Austria has not, and does not wish to have any political connection with the Empire of the Hapsburgs; but, contrary to reason and justice, this state of six million, two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants has been declared, along with Hungary, joint heir of the old divided empire of fifty-two million souls, and has had forced upon it a legacy heavily burdened with political and financial debts.

In reality, the political heirs of Austria-Hungary are to be found elsewhere. The Czechoslovakian Republic has inherited the internal hatreds and quarrels which poisoned the political life of former Austria, and it reproduces with its mixed compositions of Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, Magyars, Ukrainians, and Poles, the heterogeneous condition which existed before the disintegration of the Empire. Hungary, under the régime of ex-Admiral Horthi, has fallen heir to the old creed of reactionism; the Poles have carried into their new state, as a legacy from their forefathers, the antagonism that existed between Austria-Hungary and Russia; and Jugoslavia perpetuates the traditional friction which characterized the relations between Italy and the Hapsburg Empire.

The Republic of Austria is free from militarism, and it does not enslave peoples of diverse nationalities awaiting an hour of deliverance. The expenses of the Austrian stand-

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ing army, the maximum strength of which is fixed by the peace treaty as thirty thousand men, amount to only 3.1 per cent. of the total budget, which may be compared with the expenditure of 16.7 per cent. by Czechoslovakia, 28.2 per cent. by Jugoslavia, and 22.5 per cent. by Hungary. In respect to its composition, the population of the Austrian Republic is ninety-five per cent. German, which makes the state far more nearly homogeneous than any of the other political entities which have been formed from the material of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. A comparison of the conditions created in these various states demonstrates the great injustice of the Peace Treaty in placing upon the Austrian Republic the responsibilities of the war. At the same time it reveals the quiet and peace-loving element which exists in Central Europe in the newly formed Austrian State. These facts are confirmed by all the developments in republican Austria since the division of the Monarchy. The bloodless course of the revolution in German Austria contrasts sharply with the terrible civil wars which raged in Budapest, Munich and Berlin, and evidences the peaceful disposition of the Austrian people, their high level of culture, and the circumspect and responsible character of their leaders. Although the Social Democrats controlled the situation after the collapse of the monarchy, they were not misled by the example of their comrades in Budapest; but they did their utmost, together with the other parties, to fortify, socially and politically, the democracy founded on the revolution. Extremists have never taken a leading part in the politics of the Austrian Republic, and despite the democratic election law, which grants suffrage to all men and women twenty-one years of age, there was not a single communist in the Austrian Parliament elected last October. Out of one hundred and seventy-five mandates, the Nationalist party has only twenty, while the Conservatives are represented by eighty-three, and the Social Democrats by sixty-six. Since the latest election, the Conservatives are, therefore, the strongest party in Parliament. Every possible at-

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tempt has been made to centralize the most important governmental spheres by naming experts as ministers. The single aim of both the internal and external politics of the republic is to consolidate the achievements of the revolution, as represented by the existent democracy, thus laying a foundation for the particularly difficult task of reconstruction in Austria. That the population is eager to work is demonstrated by the fact that at the end of January, 1921, the unemployed amounted to only twenty thousand, of which twelve thousand were found in Vienna alone; while in May, 1919, the number of unemployed was one hundred and ninety thousand.

The state thus formed in the heart of the old Donau Empire, so vital a factor for the preservation of peace and order in Central Europe, is unfortunately an economic impossibility. Since the country is for the most part covered with mountains, it produces scarcely one-fourth of the population's requirements in cereals, and the problem of feeding Vienna, a city of two million, proves especially difficult. Despite the enforcement of most limited rations, Austria has to import annually five hundred thousand tons of cereals. With the exception of the steel industry, which could be successfully operated with domestic iron ore if the necessary coal were obtainable, there is fuel at present for the operation of only one in every ten furnaces, all other Austrian industries are dependent upon the importation of raw materials. The fuel situation is further complicated by the fact that Austria to-day possesses only one-half of one per cent. of the former Austrian coal mines, and that the mines which she does posssess produce for the great part an inferior grade of brown coal.

The Austrian Republic is therefore obliged to import more than seventy-five per cent. of the cereals it consumes, and more than eighty per cent. of the coal which it requires, while the exportation of its industrial products, even to-day when there is an increased demand for them as a result of

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the rate of exchange, enables it to pay for only a small percentage of its tremendous imports. Thus, the total imports in 1920 amounted to six million tons as compared with exports of one million three hundred thousand tons. Austria imported four million tons of coal at a time when twelve million tons were required to alleviate the shortage from which both population and industries were suffering. The foodstuffs imported—one hundred and eighty-two thousand tons of potatoes; two hundred and sixty-thousand tons of meat; and eleven thousand five hundred tons of condensed milk—were barely sufficient to keep the population from dying of starvation. Of the exports about sixty per cent. consisted of wood, ores, magnesite, and other minerals.

The figures of the 1920-1921 budget are significant. They reveal a total expenditure of seventy-one billion kronen (about one hundred million dollars) as opposed to a total revenue of twenty-nine billion kronen, or about forty million dollars. The deficit of forty-two billion kronen (sixty million dollars) is at present covered by notes in circulation. Of this deficit more than twenty billion kronen may be traced to the contributions made by the state in its effort to lower the price of flour, bread, meat and condensed milk, to a level within the reach of the masses. One of the chief causes of this economic and financial situation is, of course, the low and fluctuating value of the Austrian kronen in the international money market.

What attitude do the new national states assume toward this ill-fated creation of the peace treaty? After the dissolution of the old Kingdom, the national states, in which chauvinism and nationalism were rampant, deemed it advisable to close their frontiers toward Austria, and in particular toward Vienna, which remained for them the symbol of the old Austrian Empire. Political and economic wire fences were erected along the frontiers of German Austria which caused more terror and misery than did the blockade during the war. The methods employed by the new national states to educate to the new conditions their populations,

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which still considered themselves socially and economically allied with German Austria and Vienna, consisted of severe export and import prohibitions, most annoying passport requirements, the interruptions of direct railway service, etc., etc.

Even to-day, two and a half years after the cessation of hostilities, passport exigencies make it more difficult to travel from Vienna to Brunn, in Czechoslovakia, which requires a journey of only two hours by train, than to go from Vienna to New York. From the very first, the Austrian Republic, in its negotiations with the national states, sought to put an end to this fatal blockade. Sooner or later, the neighboring states, and Czechoslovakia in particular, will once more learn to appreciate Vienna as a commercial center, and the Austrian railways as arteries of international transportation.

There are several political and economic agreements which are the first signs of the breakdown of the hitherto prevailing prohibition against trade with Austria. Doubtless one reason for this gain is that these prohibitions caused difficulties within the national states themselves. It is expected that further progress in this matter will be made at a common conference to be held in the near future in Portorose.

Among the neighboring states, Hungary assumes a peculiar attitude toward the Austrian Republic. Under the bolshevist régime, and under the existing militaristic system of the Imperial Vice-regent Horthi, Hungarian leaders have constantly attempted to direct the internal politics of Austria toward an adoption of the Hungarian system. Confronted by Hungarian political aims, which are directed toward the restoration of the monarchy, the government of Czechoslovakia, whose interests in Slovakia are endangered by Hungarian intrigue, has made an agreement with the Austrian government designed to avert the common dangers which might eventually arise from a pursuance of the present Hungarian policies. The same course has been followed

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by the Little Entente, which is composed of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, and Roumania, supported and encouraged by Italy. This attitude of the neighboring states toward Hungary has been completely justified by recent developments, among which should be mentioned the Easter trip of the ex-Kaiser to Hungary.

Another much discussed problem arising from Austro-Hungarian relations is connected with the territory of German West Hungary, which, according to the terms of the St. Germain treaty, was allocated to the Republic of Austria. The Hungarian government is trying to induce Austria to renounce wholly, or in part, this one concession which was granted her in the peace treaty. The methods of persuasion vary from promises of wheat delivery to politico-economic threats; but Austria, of course, will not cede.

At the time the peace terms were fixed the Allies clearly foresaw the difficulties with which Austria would have to contend as a result of the stringent clauses of the treaty. The note accompanying the treaty reads explicitly:

> "The Allied and associated powers desire, however, in no way to aggravate the unfortunate position of Austria; on the contrary, they wish to do everything in their power to help the people of Austria, so that they may adapt themselves to the new situation and again attain prosperity."

Since the signing of the treaty, the Austrian Government has faithfully acted in accordance with the agreements therein contained, and has continuously endeavored to realize the promises conveyed by the note accompanying the treaty; in other words, to develop her self-reliance, which must be the essential force in the reconstruction of Austrian political economy. She has held to this course without considering that her fate is inextricably bound up with the fate of the entire German people. All that Austria has been able to accomplish to date is to obtain food credits for a few months, and to effect a small, but far from sufficient improvement in the coal situation.

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Austria needs, above all, extensive co-operative credits which would enable the young state to adjust its economic condition to its needs. This was indeed, the chief item in the plan outlined by the President of the Reparations Commission for Vienna, Sir William Goode; but the attempt was frustrated when the Allied powers declared that they were unable to make a loan to the Austrian government. In London, the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Mayr, also failed to obtain results in this connection; in fact, he could not even persuade the Allies to abandon their rights expressed in paragraph one hundred and ninety-seven, which reads essentially as follows:

> "Subject to exceptions, which can be allowed by the reparations commission, the entire domain, and first of all the sources of revenue of Austria, will be responsible for the payment of reparations and all other expenses that may result from the peace treaty."

The only concession made by the Allies is the postponement of this general mortgage for a number of years not yet fixed. Should the plan recently discussed in London be put into effect, it would give Austria a private export credit by mortgaging duties, all revenues from the tobacco monopoly and eventually other state monopolies, which would have to be placed under the supervision of an Allied financial committee; but the only practical benefit obtained by the Austrian people would be the averting of the food crisis for another few months. To postpone the food crisis, however, is no remedy for the economic condition in Austria; in any event, it is surely not commensurate with the promises made by the Allied note: "To do all in their power to help the Austrian people so that they may adapt themselves to the new situation and again attain prosperity."

The fact that the Austrian government has learned in London that it cannot rely upon being granted credit, means that the Entente is unable to make this assurance a reality without the co-operation of the United States of America. Here, as in all questions connected with the execution of the peace treaty, it pains Austria to realize the complete ab-

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sence of America's influence. Since the United States withdrew its representative from the Reparations Commission, the arbitrator who acted in the cause of justice and for the protection of the weak has been absent.

The realization of the economic disaster which has been caused in Central Europe by the division of the old and united territory of Austria-Hungary, has caused French opinion to favor the union of these new states into a closely related economic confederation—the so-called Donau Confederation. This idea has found immediate support from those who favor the restoration of the monarchy, and who see in an economic community the possible germ of a political confederation which would form a basis for a new monarchy. These political designs will meet with strong opposition from the National States, all of which, with the exception of Hungary, are opposed to a return to the old order. For Czechoslovakia, in particular, quite aside from political considerations, the Donau Confederation is economically impossible, since the Czechs are expending every effort to protect their industries from Austrian competition. Italy also would see her safety menaced by a resurrection of the old Donau Empire, even in the form of an economic community, and there is, therefore, little chance that this plan will ever be carried out.

For the reasons set forth it may easily be seen that Austria cannot exist alone without adequate assistance, and, as this help cannot be given, nothing remains but to allow Austria to escape from her unfortunate position, by sacrificing the economic autonomy imposed by "inalienable independence," and by joining herself to the great economic territory of the German Republic. It is certainly a misrepresentation of facts to characterize a union of this kind as a pan-German movement of expansion, and it is highly unfair to consider this question from a nationalistic point of view. The essential fact is that Austria isolated is economically impotent. Of course, there are, also, national impulses

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toward this union, springing from the community of intellectual life, history, and race, which is a factor in the life of every nation. The American people, by their announcement of the principle of self-determination, have recognized this factor as one of the essential elements for the formation of a state; and what was granted to Italy, Poland, Jugoslavia, and Roumania as a national right, cannot for long be denied to the German people.

The dominating motive in the life of a nation, as in an individual, is the instinct of self preservation, and this and nothing else is the reason that Austria wishes to join Germany. The great masses of Austrians desire nothing but bread, work, peace and their place in the great community of civilized humanity. To-day, however, it is not to be expected that the Council of the League of Nations will agree on this matter as required by paragraph eighty-eight of the peace treaty. French politicians, who are guided only by the one desire of weakening Germany by every possible means, will never consent to the union. For this reason, the French politicians have condemned the Austrian Republic to independence, and there is little hope that an appeal to the League of Nations, of which Austria is a member, would have the desired results.

The Austrian people did a great wrong in the war: the men were more afraid of prison and the gallows than of the bullets of their enemies; the women were compelled to give their sons as cannon fodder; they must suffer, because they had more faith in the Hapsburg dictators than in their own convictions. The children, also, must suffer for the sins of their parents, as is evidenced by the three hundred thousand underfed children of Austria, who are at the mercy of rickets and consumption.

The United States of America must soon decide on its attitude toward the treaty. The just and noble-minded American people will certainly realize that by the acts of their representative, President Wilson, they are responsible

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for the provisions of the treaty. The agreement of St. Germain is also signed by the representative of the American people; the help promised Austria, in the note accompanying the Treaty, was also promised in the name of the United States. On this promise Austria builds her greatest hopes. If the financial situation in general is such that the help so solemnly promised cannot be offered, the United States will certainly not deny the necessity of a revision of the peace treaty. This is the firm hope of Austria.

There is nobody in Austria who does not think with great gratitude of all that America has done for him: the salvation of our children is America's greatest achievement. All these charitable activities of the American people are most brilliant manifestations of the solidarity of human interest; but there is something still higher than giving for charity, and that is to create a condition whereby charities are no longer necessary.

SHADOWS

By BEN RAY REDMAN

I who have dreamed so many dreams
Of shadowed hills and lonely places,
Of fragrant nights when mellow beams
Fitfully light the soft cloud faces;
I who have dreamed of splashing streams,
Where tree with thicket interlaces,
Of lakes where trembling water seems
Full glad to meet the wind's embraces;
I who dwell where the city teems,
Must I always live in a land of dreams?

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A NATIONAL NEED

By JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

"I gave much thought to the use of the Pneumatic Tube System and installed it only after I had thoroughly proved that it is not possible to get such a rapid, safe mail service in any other way."

—John Wanamaker, former Postmaster-General.

EVERY American believes that America leads the world in applying science to practical ends. As a matter of fact, Europe fully matches us in this respect, and even on occasion goes forward while we go backward. A striking instance is the steady progress of underground transportation of mail in Europe contrasted with the amazing abandonment of that system in the United States.

Away back in the Victorian era, pneumatic mail tubes were introduced in the Chief European capitals. To-day, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest and Rome have hundreds of miles of these efficient devices. America took the lead, however, in 1893, and held it for a quarter of a century, with a type of tube far superior to anything in Europe. This system consists—I use the present tense writing of the physical properties because they exist to-day, ready for resumed use on a week's notice—of double lines of iron tubes under the streets, skilfully designed dispatching and receiving apparati, special types of air compressors at each connected post office, and cylindrical steel containers which were shot through the tubes at thirty miles an hour. The inside diameter of each container is eight inches; the length, twenty-one inches. This great size gave the American tubes their distinctive superiority over the European,

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which are but two or three inches in diameter, and are used only for telegrams and comparatively small classes of mail paid for at special rates.

The distinctive American achievement was the perfection of a tube system *capable of forwarding economically all first-class mail.* Yet though European nations extend their tubes even while planning huge mail and merchandise tunnels, the American system, of vastly greater capacity, flexibility and utility, was abandoned before even an approach was made to the tunnel system!

The American pneumatic mail tube is one of the really great inventions of the age, so recognized by the highest authorities when the Franklin Institute awarded its inventor, Mr. Batchellor, the John Clark Medal "for great inventions."

It was that great constructive genius, John Wanamaker, then Postmaster-General, who, in 1893, invited inventors and capitalists to demonstrate that mail could be carried underground. Only one group had the practical system and the necessary faith. At no cost to the Government a line was laid and operated for a year. So convincing was its success that the Government gave a contract and invited extensions. Eventually there were built fifty-six miles of double tubes in six cities—New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago and St. Louis.

Every extension was invited by the Government following a rigid investigation. Nothing was ever so thoroughly investigated as the pneumatic tubes. And no public utility ever came through investigations so completely vindicated. Congressional, technical and Post Office Departmental Committees in 1899, 1905, 1908, 1914 and 1918 approved the system in enthusiastic terms. A Congressional Committee, in 1900, after granting every claim for the tubes, illogically recommended their discontinuance; but such a protest arose from the business world that in a year they were again in use, every member of Congress voting for their restoration. In 1901 a committee of business and technical men appointed

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by Congress presented a report which, from the standing of its sponsors—President Search of the National Association of Manufacturers, Professor Thurston of Cornell University, Chief Engineer Manning of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, Mr. Mead of the New York Merchants' Association, the chief engineer of the United States Public Buildings, and several eminent consulting engineers — forever established the worth of the pneumatic tubes.

Private capital invested in the tubes on the understanding that the Government would either amortize the contracts or purchase them when their utility was demonstrated. In 1914 a Congressional Committee presented a majority report recommending purchase, but in the face of a minority report which advised against the purchase without denying the value of the system, no action was taken.

In 1913 the tube system began to be attacked. Behind the attack was a mail-truck contractor who coveted the profits to be derived from carrying in trucks what the tubes carried underground. His career ended abruptly in Atlanta Penitentiary, whither he was accompanied by two postal employees whom he had bribed to destroy evidence of delays to mail trucks.

But now began the campaign of Postmaster-General Burleson to destroy the tubes—the most bitter, insensate, dishonest campaign ever waged by a public official or against a public utility. A committee of "postal experts" was set to work on one more investigation. These so-called "postal experts" were merely post-office inspectors, that is to say, detectives. That they were appointed not to investigate but to condemn, became evident when in each city they visited, inspired stories appeared in the press, before the "investigation" even began, that the tubes would be abolished, because motor trucks could do the work better. And wherever the committee went, they were accompanied by an agent for a motor-truck company, who had been made a "special expert" in the department, by executive order of President Wilson, on

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recommendation of Burleson, over the protest of the Civil Service Commission!

This sinister "investigation" culminated in 1916 in a report which flew in the face of all previous judgments of the tubes, and was based on "tests" and "comparisons" so disingenuous that the Merchants' Association of New York and a special committee representing every business organization in Philadelphia, literally tore it to pieces.

The answer of Congress was the appointment of yet another Joint Commission, consisting of Senators Bankhead, Hardwick and Weeks and Representatives Bell, Rouse and Steenerson. Independent of their own personal experience as members of the Post Office Committees of Congress, they retained one of the most eminent firms of research engineers in America. The engineers and five of the Commission concurred in a report, in 1918, completely demolishing every charge inspired by Burleson, proclaiming the tubes "necessary for proper postal service", and recommending their purchase. Mr. Rouse, a lone minority, made a report which was merely a re-arrangement of the "postal experts' " document!

The climax of this tragedy of governmental sabotage was dramatic. On one side was the Pneumatic Tube System, built at the Government's urgent solicitation, tried in the fire of ten investigations, and proved by a quarter of a century of unequalled service. Actively supporting it was every chamber of commerce, board of trade and business organization in the chief cities; the mayors, councils and aldermen and traffic authorities of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Boston; the New York State Legislature; every real postal expert; and every newspaper in the tube cities, and many elsewhere. On the other side stood Albert Sidney Burleson, who candidly admitted to a United States senator, "I don't know a damn thing about the tubes," but was determined to reduce the postal facilities of a combined population of fifteen million to the level of his home town of Waco, Texas. Supporting him were the "experts" whom

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he had forced to report according to his order. In the background lurked a certain motor truck company, whose agent had been made a "special expert" of the Department, and whose trucks were bought by the score even though, as Senator Townsend revealed in a Senate Resolution, their bids were twenty-eighth above the lowest!

The Post Office Appropriation Bill of 1918 carried a temporary appropriation for tube service and a provision for the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix a valuation for purchase of the system. It passed the Senate, but in the House the tremendous power then wielded by Burleson came within one vote of defeating the tube paragraph. One vote, however, is a majority, and the fight seemed won. Then came the bolt from Olympus. The President, whom Burleson had served so assiduously, vetoed the appropriation bill in a message, condemning the tubes—a wholly unprecedented action. With only thirty-six hours left of the fiscal year, the World War at its worst and Woodrow Wilson supreme at Washington, Congress was compelled to repass the bill with the tube provision left out—and at midnight, June 30, 1918, this utility's matchless career of usefulness came to an end—temporarily.

The national disgrace of the action became apparent when the President's veto message was analyzed. It is clear that Mr. Wilson knew nothing about the tubes. He did not write a line of the message. He had simply signed what was put before him when the favorite of his Cabinet made a supreme appeal to him. For every statement in the President's message was taken bodily out of the report of the committee of "postal experts", often in the exact phraseology, down to the commas and periods; and every statement had therefore long since been refuted and been made a laughing-stock by the reports of the Joint Commission and its engineers, of the Merchants' Association, and of the Philadelphia Business Associations Committee.

That Burleson and his assistants proposed to make this blow final, was shown by the subsequent attempt to tear the

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costly, intricate compressing machinery out of the postal stations. The tube companies had voluntarily removed their terminal apparatus from Post Office floors, where it might be in the way; but the compressing machinery was in sub-cellars dug by the tube companies and impossible to use for anything else. It was in no one's way and only a spirit which was characterized as "the wildest Bolshevism" dictated the attempt to throw this perfected scientific apparatus on the junk heap. Once more the business community rallied to the defence of the tubes, led by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, which cabled its protest to Woodrow Wilson even as he sat among the mighty at Versailles, and the hand of destruction was stayed. Congress subsequently directed that the machinery be not molested, and today another Joint Congressional Commission is investigating the pneumatic tubes, and already it is said that its engineers have found that in New York the system was 99.79/100 per cent perfect, and should be purchased and operated by the Government!

Ten pounds—twelve pounds—of mail, or a single letter, was dispatched with equal speed and surety by the tubes, and with equal economy, for the service cost less than a tenth of a mill per letter.

Is anyone proposing to tear up subways and return to horse-cars? That would be just as sane as shutting down the tubes and forcing twenty five million pieces of mail which could have swift, sure underground service, to take their chances on the surface, where as everyone sees and as the Post Office time schedules admit, trucks cannot make more than from four to seven miles an hour.

Our once proud mail service has been wrecked by "Burlesonism." But the people very emphatically repudiated Burlesonism along with Wilsonism. They gave the Republican Party a mandate to take over the business of the United States, including the Post Office.

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AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

DESPITE the fact that the theatre is an almost essential part of the life of the American people, it is not too much to say that the more thoughtful American people look on it with distrust, many with acute disrespect, and some with fear. The deeper reasons for this distrust and dislike are never touched except by those who assume to be bold—and brazenly and frankly declare that questions of morality have no place in the theatre. The usual retort is that our people are provincial, as if that were some form of insidious and undefined vice.

For a long time the standard objection to the drama of Augier, against Dumas fils, against the host of others, including Ibsen himself, was that they discussed moral questions on the stage. The curious brood begat by this attitude would indicate that if, after all, morality has no place in the modern theatre, a policeman has a place and distinct function. As a matter of fact, after years of association with dramatic critics, we believe that what the average play being produced in America needs, is not so much a criticism from the gentlemen who write, as a police report. If any other argument were needed for this statement it is the fact that most plays deal with subjects that come more naturally under the survey of the police, than they do under the purview of the talented baseball writer who happens to be writing about the theatre, and whose knowledge of crime was supposed to be nil, until it was found that even baseball required a Federal Judge to keep it from degenerating into some kind of a criminal sex problem.

Within the past seven days we have seen two plays, which is quite a sufficient drain on a normal man's vitality and patience, unless one happens to belong to that great

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brigade, the expense account audience, as described by Mr. Percy Hammond, probably the ablest of dramatic critics in America, who unfortunately takes himself far too lightly, and who, if placed in New York instead of Chicago, might be able to check most of our dramatic iniquities at their source.

The first play was "Mr. Pim Passes By," and was touted to us as a supreme effort, the additional reason for its worthwhileness being that it was put forward by the Theatre Guild, which was supposed to be showing such unusual intelligence in the selection of plays that even Mr. Abe Erlanger—who in the days of old at least had the virtue of picking his own plays—was being driven into selecting plays produced by this self-same Guild.

"Mr. Pim" is an English farce of the most mechanical variety, written on the lowest intellectual level without a situation or a characterization that is not threadbare. The play was acted in an atrocious high key, due doubtless, to a bad director, with the result that there was more laughter on the part of the actors on the stage in ten minutes than there was on the part of the audience in two hours.

Mr. Augustus Thomas' "Nemesis" at the Hudson Theatre was our second effort. Mr. Thomas is the only man writing for the American stage today who speaks out of a full intellect and a ripe understanding of life and its moralities. His writing shows him as little influenced by French manners or Norwegian atmosphere as if he had never heard of either, though here and there he has conceded to popular taste, still hewing rather steadily to his own line. Off hand we would say that he represents America in the drama as does Pinero, England, and Brieux, France. His fault, if it is a fault, is that he is more American than Pinero is English or Brieux is French—both are distinctly Norwegian. Both are provincial in a world sense, whereas Thomas has kept always a healthy mid-continental viewpoint, the middle west view point, which after all is much saner than that of the east or the Pacific Coast.

Unfortunately plays are financed and their success

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decided in New York, and the country at large for which he writes has had no opportunity to judge of them. What a clamor there would come from New Yorkers if plays, instead of being produced in New York, had their openings in San Francisco, and if the San Francisco critics decided that there was no use in New York seeing plays that were in their judgment a failure.

All of which might indicate that it would be a better day for America if plays were started on their career in some such mid-country city as Chicago, and Chicago verdicts decided for the country, rather than the "expense account" audiences of New York.

Our recollection is that Mr. Thomas has never written a play of protest, and "Nemesis" is such an absorbing play that it may be that he wrote it out of the joy of creation, but to us it is a virile protest against the cheap, vulgar immorality of the day, and his fellow dramatists. We cannot conceive that Mr. Thomas, who is as healthy and vigorous as Emerson himself, could have written this play without having in mind some indignation over the slur that is nightly cast in our theatre on American women. We believe that the American women on the whole are virtuous and decent, and yet if you should take the majority of plays now running in New York theatres as any kind of a cross section of life, it would be impossible to escape the conclusion that the women of the day look on virtue as a bore, and treachery to the husbands who have provided them with homes and shelter and luxury, as smart and fashionable.

However smart this idea may be regarded in New York, it is not regarded with favor in the rest of the country. Much, however, as we are susceptible to New York, we know that its influence is not of the healthiest. True it is that this is not entirely the fault of New York. Just as Brieux pointed out in "La Francaise", Paris is not France, so to many decent people, Broadway is not New York. And yet, like many others who live within its confines, we are continually pestered by those from without the city who believe that we lead a dull life because we never go to the

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abominable "Follies," or the other absurd productions where bovine intellects gaze wonderfully on a lot of naked and over-painted cows.

* * * *

American motorists are divided into two classes—the wise and the stupid. The most virulent of the latter is that Sunday species, who once in the seven days goes forth through the flowering countryside, seeking with atrophied intellect, what he may devour—or pluck—with only that unintelligent appreciation of beauty which proves its eventual destruction. The common dogwood (Cynoscylon Floridum) is such a beautiful harbinger of Spring that it seems almost a shame that one should have to say a word in behalf of its protection, due to the fact that in most of the industrial centers of the east the onslaught on its blossoms by thoughtless persons may mean eventually its extinction.

No one is more thoughtless than the city person who does not realize that after fall, the flower bears the seed, and if you tear away the flower you destroy the plant propagating power.

The tree is of slow growth and does not come into flower until it is a good many years old. It does not respond very readily to ordinary cultivation, reaching its perfect development only in the natural woodland surroundings which it ornaments so beautifully in Spring.

The dogwood ranges from Maine to Florida, and in the Central States from Ontario to Texas, ascending the mountains of Virginia and the Sierra Madre in Mexico. Mrs. Britton informs us it was named by Linnaeus in 1753 from plants collected in Virginia and Carolina, and was described by Plukenet in 1691 in his Phytographia probably from plants collected in Virginia by John Bannister.

Through the onslaughts of thoughtless people there is a real danger of its becoming either exterminated or very seriously reduced in amount, and if this should happen, one of the most attractive features of the country would become a thing of the past.

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DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BOOKS

THE PASSING OF THE CZARS*

COUNT SERGEY YULYEVICH WITTE was undoubtedly one of the most prominent figures in the political life of western and eastern Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first years of the twentieth centuries. A mere enumeration of his political achievements furnishes ample evidence of this fact. Russia is indebted to him for a speedy and systematic development of her railroad system (he was practically the builder of the Siberian Railroad) and for a sound regulation of the railroad tariffs. He was the first to grasp the importance of the question of a limitation of the use of liquors, and the first to attempt to mitigate the horrors of intoxication by means of introduction of a state monopoly of liquors. He reorganized the Russian finances, succeeded in introducing the gold standard of currency, and bettered, in spite of a very difficult political situation, Russian credit in the foreign markets. Thanks to the clever policy of Witte in opening the Russian market to foreign capital, Russian industry underwent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a mighty development. His ability made it possible for Russia to settle the unfortunate war with Japan by the treaty of Portsmouth. And finally he alone understood in what way it was possible to deal with the first Russian revolution of 1905 and 1906, and to save for awhile the integrity of Russia and to preserve the dynasty. It is well known that he is the father of the first Russian political constitution based on the principle of a limitation of the autocratic power by the will of the population. You see, here is a long and weighty list of achievements, which would bring full credit to any one of the statesmen of western Europe and America.

Witte was not a herald of a new era in the life of Russia. Against his will he created the first link in the new chain of historical events, which began with the Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905. In his very essence he belonged not to the new Russia, which is now in the state of formation, but to the old monarchical Russia, the Russia which was created by the genius of Peter the Great and consolidated by a series of

*"*The Memoirs of Count Witte,*" translated from the original Russian and edited by *Abraham Yarmolinsky;* Garden City, N. Y., and Toronto, Canada. Doubleday, Page & Co., 1921.

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eminent Russian emperors and empresses, the true followers of Peter's ideas: Elizabeth, Katharine, Alexander the first, Alexander the second and Alexander the third. This Russia, as it is well known, united in one state and in one civilization almost the whole of eastern Europe and a large part of Asia. This Russia created a mighty and peculiar civilization, which became the civilization of all the peoples which inhabited Russia including very many Mongolian tribes, once the rulers of Russia. In the history of this Russia, men like Witte played an enormous, sometimes a decisive part. We must not forget that along with a mass of complaisant courtiers, of selfish land owners who oppressed the enslaved peasants, of bribe-taking "chinovniks" (functionaries), the Russian class of "dvoriáne" (nobles) which also included so many foreigners, former teachers of Russia, furnished Russia with the best creative geniuses both in the domain of civilization and of statesmanship. The latter being faithful collaborators of the best Russian monarchs, were highly educated men—men with a wide administrative experience, with broad political horizons, with a deep understanding of the peculiarities of Russian life, and with an endless devotion to the true interests of Russia. I could quote scores and hundreds of names, well known to Russians. Witte was the last of this series, "the last of the flight of the glorious eagles of Katharine," to use the expression of one of the most glorious dvoriane of Russia—Pushkin. Witte's figure appears perhaps greater than it really is, as it emerges from a mass of complaisant and corrupted nonentities who formed the majority of the Russian bureaucracy of the last years, worthy servants of their null and unhappy master—Nicholas the second.

The memoirs of Witte are not a history of his time. They are memoirs in the true sense of this word, with all their merits and defects. It is only natural that it is the personality of Witte which steadily occupies the foreground. Like the majority of the authors of memoirs, Witte is inclined to overestimate himself and to point out the infallibility of his judgment. But we must recognize that in the majority of the cases he was right and his opponents wrong. He was right in fighting with all his strength the unfortunate adventure in the far East, promoted by the selfish interests of some, and by the imperialistic tendencies of others, and kept up by the shallow feeling of revenge of Nicholas the second. He was right again in opposing the crazy plan of a war of conquest directed against Japan, and in insisting on making peace with Japan as soon as it became evident that Russia had lost the war. I share also his leading idea in the domain of international politics—the idea of a necessity of creating a league of central European powers (France, Russia, Germany) and of keeping a close friendship with the United States of America. The post-war events have shown how selfish is the policy of England as regards her former allies, especially Russia. It is not the fault of Witte that Germany aimed

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at a world domination, and not at an honest collaboration. In the main question of Russian internal policy, Witte grasped the leading points much better than did his adversaries. He understood clearly that the policy of artificially keeping up the dying class of land owners was folly, and that the whole life of Russia should be based on the peasantry, whose relation to the legal status and economic conditions should be the main point of Russian internal policy. It is not his fault again that his idea was trampled in the mud by a clique of land owners, members of the "black hundred", the intimate friends of Nicholas the second, under a lasting protest of the whole of intellectual Russia. Russia is now paying a heavy price for the foolish and selfish policy of a stubborn minority! One of the leading ideas of Witte's book is his attitude towards the national question. He insisted all his life long on a fair and liberal solution of this question, on a full recognition of the right of a cultural self determination of the non Russian nations in Russia. He opposed with all his strength the barbarous and short-sighted policy of limiting the rights of the Jews. Here again the history of the last years showed how much higher was his political standard as compared with that of the "true-Russian" nationalists, the Jew-eaters. I am convinced that were it not for the foolish persecution of the non Russian nations, the Bolsheviki would not be able to base their régime of terror and oppression on Lettish and Bashkir regiments.

The memoirs of Witte give an interesting picture of the political life of Russia during the last thirty years (1892-1912). His picture is of course not complete. Witte depicts his "milieu", that of the higher bureaucracy and of the Imperial Court. He took no part in the social movement in Russia. He does not know it, or more likely he ignores it. For him, as for the majority of the Russian bureaucrats, the social forces are alien, almost hostile. You will find but few words about this leading force in Russian life in the memoirs of Witte. The Russian intellectuals—the leaders of this force—did not like Witte, and Witte did not come into contact with them. But more interesting is the characterization which Witte gives the Emperor, the Empress, and their surroundings. Witte was a convinced monarchist, fully devoted to the reigning dynasty. Nevertheless he was too perspicacious to ignore how, step by step, Nicholas with the active aid of his wife, the Grand Dukes, and some imposters of the type of "Dr. Philip" and Rasputin, undermined the very foundations of the monarchical power in Russia. In a few words Witte gives a vivid picture of Nicholas' character, and everybody who knew the late Czar has nothing to add to this characterization: "A ruler who cannot be trusted, who approves today what he will reject tomorrow, is incapable of steering the Ship of State into a quiet harbour. His outstanding failing is his lamentable lack of will power. Though benevolent

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and not unintelligent, this shortcoming disqualifies him totally as the unlimited autocratic ruler of the Russian people. Poor unhappy Emperor! He was not born for the momentous historical rôle which fate has thrust upon him." Bitter and hostile are the pages consecrated by Witte to the Empress. She was, in his mind, the evil genius of Nicholas. With two words he gives sometimes a brilliant picture of some of the nonentities who surrounded the Czar. Here is the figure of Goremykin, who without any success, was twice Russian Premier after Witte. I myself knew the man pretty well, and I can guarantee that Witte's appreciation is quite just. "It is noteworthy", says Witte, "that my successor Goremykin was on excellent terms with Trepov, which was, no doubt, one of the causes why he was appointed, for Goremykin had nothing except his huge whiskers to distinguish him from thousands of bureaucratic mediocrities".

Three parts in the book of Witte deserve a special attention. In the future, anybody who takes up a study of the political conditions of the world at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, ought to study these sections carefully. The first is the history of the Russo-Japanese war and of the Portsmouth treaty. On this occasion Witte visited America. Incidentally, Witte's stay in America and his impressions of this country are worthy of note. Witte did not know anything about America, but by a kind of intuition he understood at once how to manage the Americans. In America he was cordial, accessible to everybody, especially to the newspaper men, democratic in the best sense of the word, and much inclined to meet Russian Jews, whose influence in America he exaggerated. A curious feature of his stay in America is that he disliked only one thing in this country—the American cooking. Of it, Witte speaks repeatedly and sometimes with scorn.

Not less important is his account, not about the first Russian Revolution, but about the behavior of our rulers during these troubled months. A depressing picture of cowardice and irresolution, which gradually, when the danger was over, changed into arrogance!

And last, the section of Witte's relations with the German Emperor. I do not remember another such vivid picture of this "crowned actor," with the self-satisfied arrogance of a man who imagined he would be the ruler of the world.

Witte was fully aware of a coming storm in Russia. He brands with indignation the white terror of Stolypin, foreseeing that it was the forerunner of a second much more terrible red terror. His tale of the events of 1905-1912 he finishes with the following words, at once hopeful and gloomy, which depict in the best way his political nature and ideals: "What will be the outcome of it all? It is my firm belief that in the end Russia will have a constitutional régime; and as in other civilized states, the principles of civic freedom will take root in our country . . .

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The only problem is how the change will take place: whether it will come as a consummation of peaceful efforts, or out of torrents of blood. As a sincere monarchist, as a loyal servant of the reigning House of the Romanovs . . . I pray to God that the change may come about bloodlessly and peacefully".

—MICHAEL I. ROSTOVTZEFF.

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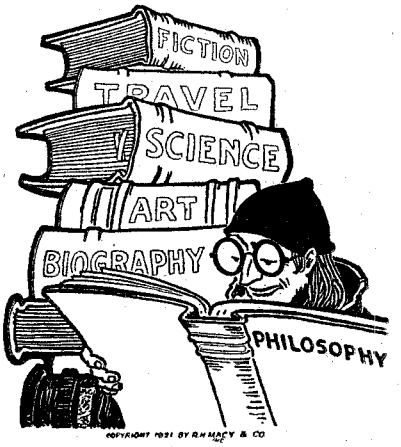

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